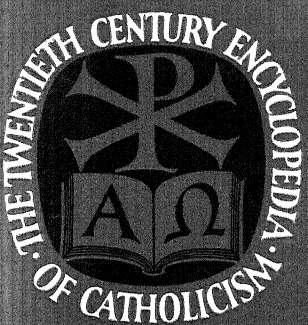
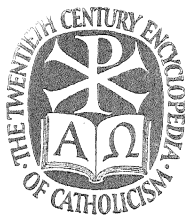


*BERNARD DE VAULX*

# HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS





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# History of the Missions

By *BERNARD DE VAULX*

TRANSLATED BY REGINALD F. TREVETT

This is the story of those courageous men and women whose tenacity and faith allowed them to bring "the good news" to every part of the globe, on the perilous journeys that began with the travels of St. Paul and the apostles. This volume is the history of the most exciting and dangerous Church vocation over the last two thousand years.

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# HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS

*By* BERNARD DE VAULX

*Translated from the French by* REGINALD F. TREVETT

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P A R T I

FROM THE DEATH OF CHRIST TO  
THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW  
WORLD





## CHAPTER I

# THE MISSION OF THE APOSTLES

The history of the Missions began when that of Christ in his human nature was about to end. The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles make it possible for us to retrace the wonderful circumstances in which this memorable moment was set.

Christ was in the Upper Room with his disciples for the last time. How dull their minds still were! He had foretold his death, resurrection and return to the Father time after time, yet some of them took him for a spirit! How patiently he led them towards the truth! "Look at my hands and my feet, to be assured that it is myself; touch me, and look; a spirit has not flesh and bones, as you see that I have." But this was not enough. Their real joy at seeing him again was still mingled with amazement and a certain amount of incredulity. Then he asked them: "Have you anything here to eat?"

They gave him a piece of grilled fish and he ate it in their presence. Now they no longer thought they were dealing with a spirit. Yet they had not abandoned the earthly hopes of Judaism and they asked him:

Lord, dost thou mean to restore the dominion to Israel here and now? But he told them, It is not for you to know the times and seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. Enough for you, that the Holy Spirit will come upon you, and you will receive strength from him; you are to be my witnesses in Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, in Samaria, yes, *and to the ends of the earth.*

(Acts 1. 6-8.)

He did not expect them to rest but to undertake an immense task. To prevent discouragement in these simple men, alone in the world, who had received the command to spread a new religion whose commandments were radically opposed to those of the ancient religions, Christ foretold that he would be there to help them: "And behold I am with you all through the days that are coming, until the consummation of the world. . . . I am sending down upon you the gift which was promised by my Father; you must wait in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high."

He then took them to the outskirts of Bethany and there, as he blessed them, he left them and was taken up into heaven. St Luke adds that they returned full of a great joy to Jerusalem.

There are two points to note in this scene: the divine promise of continual help and the universal character of the religion they have been commanded to preach. The promise was fulfilled ten days later at Pentecost with all the startling force that was needed for the apostles to be certain of its origin: they were all gathered together in unity of purpose. All at once a sound came from heaven like that of a strong wind blowing, and filled the whole house where they were sitting. Then appeared to them what seemed to be tongues of fire, which parted and came to rest on each of them. (Acts 2. 2-4.)

Wind and fire are the signs of the divine presence in biblical tradition.

Among those who were dwelling in Jerusalem at this time were devout Jews from every country under heaven. . . . And they were all beside themselves with astonishment; Are they not all Galileans speaking? they asked. . . . There are Parthians among us, and Medes and Elamites; our homes are in Mesopotamia, or Judaea, or Cappadocia; in Pontus or Asia, Phrygia or Pamphylia, Egypt or the parts of Libya round Cyrene . . . and each has been hearing them tell of God's wonders in his own language.

(Acts 2. 5-12.)

They were beside themselves with amazement and did not know what to think. Some treated the whole affair as a joke. Peter then reminded them that the prophets had foretold the resurrection of Christ whom the Jews had recently crucified:

God, then, has raised up this man, Jesus, from the dead. . . . And now, exalted at God's right hand, he has claimed from his Father his promise to bestow the Holy Spirit; and he has poured out that Spirit, as you can see and hear for yourselves.

[Profoundly moved, they asked the Apostles:] What must we do? Be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, to have your sins forgiven; then you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. This promise is for you and for your children, and for all those, however far away, whom the Lord our God calls to himself.

(Acts 2. 37-40.)

We learn from the Acts that some three thousand persons heeded these words. This first nucleus of converts appears to have increased rapidly. It was composed of Israelites and Greeks, that is, Hebrews from abroad as distinct from those living in Palestine.

These first Christians sold their property and used the money they received for it to provide for the upkeep of the communities formed among themselves. The Acts also tell us that their numbers increased every day and all the more so because "so many were the wonders and signs performed by the apostles in Jerusalem".

Since the cure of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful, who at the command of St Peter and in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, had stood up and walked, since Peter again, after denouncing the hypocrisy and the sacrilegious theft of Ananias and Sapphira, had caused them both to fall dead at his feet, no one had dared to question the extraordinary power of the apostles. At Jerusalem people went so far as

to bring sick folk into the streets, and lay them down there on beds and pallets, in the hope that even the shadow of Peter might fall upon one of them here and there, as he passed by, and so they

would be healed of their infirmities. From neighbouring cities, too, the common people flocked to Jerusalem, bringing with them the sick and those who were troubled by unclean spirits; and all of them were cured.

(Acts 5. 15-16.)

These manifestations of the Spirit exasperated the members of the Synagogue. A violent persecution of the infant Church broke out. But it proved to be to its advantage when the punishment and the conversion of Saul, its chief persecutor, had given startling proof that the Spirit, as Christ had foretold, did not cease to protect it.

After Paul's first preaching at Damascus and Iconium, the Church was still composed only of Hebrews and of Greeks. We must realize, and we can never do so sufficiently, how essential it is that the Spirit should cure the egoism and the narrow-mindedness of men. At first the apostles, Jewish in origin, thought they would confine Christ's teaching to men of their own race. Before they consented to share it with the Gentiles, it was necessary for the Spirit to manifest himself to the centurion Cornelius. The angel said to the centurion:

(God) would have thee send men to Joppa, to bring here one Simon, who is called Peter . . . thou wilt learn from him what thou hast to do. [Cornelius obeyed at once and whilst his messengers were on their way to Joppa, Peter saw the heavens open and] a bundle, like a great sheet . . . in it were all kinds of four-footed beasts, and things that creep on the earth, and all the birds of heaven. And a voice came to him, Rise up, Peter, lay about thee and eat. It cannot be, Lord, answered Peter; never in my life have I eaten anything unclean. Then the voice came to him a second time, It is not for thee to call anything profane, which God has made clean. Peter was still puzzling in his mind over the meaning of his vision, when Cornelius' messengers . . . were seen standing at the gate . . . he set out with them. . . . And as soon as Peter had entered . . . You know well enough, he told them, that a Jew is contaminated if he consorts with one of another race, or visits him; but God has been shewing me that we ought not to speak of any man as profane or unclean.

The light was beginning to dawn on Peter. Suddenly, just as he was bringing his explanation of Christ's doctrine to a close, the Holy Spirit conferred the gift of tongues on the Gentiles, that is, on Cornelius and those who were with him. When he saw this renewal of Pentecost, Peter cried out: "Who will grudge us the water for baptizing these men, that have received the Holy Spirit just as we did?"

The Jerusalem Jews were still hesitant, but when Peter had told them what had taken place in the house of Cornelius at Caesarea, they too were full of wonder that redemption was not a treasure intended for them alone.

The call that came to Peter at Joppa had given the signal for that evangelization of the world whose early stages are revealed to us in the Acts of the Apostles. As soon as Paul arrived in a city for the first time, he went to the synagogue. At Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium, Thessalonica, Philippi and Corinth, his first audiences were Jews engaged in commerce or victims of deportation orders. But many of them remained ardent adherents of the old Judaism and refused to believe in Christ, the universal Redeemer. When they uttered blasphemies in reply to Paul's teaching as he preached the universal character of the new religion, the Apostle replied: "We were bound to preach God's words to you first; but now, since you reject it, since you declare yourselves unfit for eternal life, be it so; we will turn our thoughts to the Gentiles."

These words which were accompanied by striking charismatic manifestations unleashed their wrath. During his first journey to Iconium where a great number of Jews and Greeks were converted, Paul and Barnabas, manhandled and threatened with stoning, had to take refuge at Lystra. Jews from Iconium and Antioch followed them there and, in the course of a riot, Paul was stoned and left for dead outside the city. At Philippi he and Silas were handed over to the praetors, beaten with rods and thrown into prison. The same fate befell them at Thessalonica and Berea.

At Jerusalem on his return from his third journey, some

fanatical Jews took an oath not to eat or drink until they had killed Paul. When the tribune heard of this plot, he gave orders that the Apostle was to be taken to Caesarea, where he was put in prison. He was still in captivity two years later when a new procurator arrived in the person of Festus before whom he claimed his rights as a Roman citizen. This appeal to Caesar was to bring him to Rome. Shortly after he had set sail, a violent storm wrecked the ship at Malta, where the survivors received a friendly welcome.

After spending three of the winter months on the island, Paul took to sea again, stayed three days at Syracuse, a week at Puteoli among brethren, that is, among those who had accepted the new doctrine, and then set out for Rome. There were already Christian converts in the city. They had doubtless come from oriental communities and, urged on by that ardent desire to make converts which possessed the early Christians, had spontaneously become apostles. As the Acts tell us, these brethren of Rome came as far as the forum of Appius and the Three Taverns to meet Paul. When he saw them, he gave thanks to God and went forward with renewed courage.

The Jewish community in Rome proved to be as divided as those of Greece and the Orient. On the one hand were those who enthusiastically embraced the new religion, on the other, the obdurate adherents of the old law. Yet the art of convincing people could hardly have been carried further than it was by St Paul. Whether he was speaking to Romans, Corinthians or Galatians, he always began by insisting that he himself was of no importance. He stood to one side: "Paul, an apostle not holding his commission from men, not appointed by man's means, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father. . . ."

As the majority of his hearers were Jews, he quoted the prophets whose writings he knew as well as did the best of the rabbis. Thus, having quoted Joel ("Every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved"), he made clear by means of a series of deductions the need for his own preaching. Only, how are they to call upon him until they have learned to

believe in him? And how are they to believe in him, until they listen to him. And how can they listen, without a preacher to listen to? And how can there be preachers, unless preachers are sent on their errand? (Rom. 10. 14-15.) All this clear series of arguments leads to the magnificent image taken from Isaias: "How welcome is the coming of those who tell of peace, who tell of good news."

This good news is for all men; "I have the same duty to all, Greek and barbarian, learned and simple; . . . There is no distinction made here between Jew and Gentile; all alike have one Lord, and he has enough and to spare for all those who call upon him."

In any case, the Old Testament had already foretold this universalism. Isaias had said: "Those who never looked for me have found me; I have made myself known to those who never asked for word of me." This means that the incredulity of a section of the Jewish people gained salvation for the Gentiles. But the divine mercy remains full and entire. If St Paul recalls the blindness of the "people that refuses obedience and cries out against me", to whom God had stretched out his hands "all day", it is not so much to humiliate them as to emphasize the extraordinary importance and the outstanding value their conversion would have. "Why then, if their false step has enriched the world, if the Gentiles have been enriched by their default, what must we expect, when it is made good?" (Rom. 11. 12.)

It is to St Paul that we owe the finest of all panegyrics of charity.

Charity is patient, is kind; charity feels no envy; charity is never perverse or proud, never insolent; has no selfish aims, cannot be provoked, does not brood over an injury; takes no pleasure in wrongdoing, but rejoices at the victory of truth; sustains, believes, hopes, endures, to the last. . . . Meanwhile, faith, hope and charity persist, all three; but the greatest of them all is charity.

(1 Cor. 13. 4-13.)

Charity, that "bond of perfection" as he calls it elsewhere, was at the heart of his apostolic life. If we find it astonishing that nothing, prison, maltreatment, tortures, continual travel, privations, could destroy his body, so ill-endowed physically, we must remember that he has told us in one short but striking phrase all that he owed to prayer: "Though the outward part of our nature is being worn down, our inner life is refreshed from day to day." The apostolate of St Paul, erudite, based on a wide knowledge of the texts, yet free from pedantry, subtle yet without affectation, fatherly, even familiar on occasion, overflowing with love yet always firm, is one of the finest examples of what can be achieved by the intellect when enlightened by faith and by the love of men for God's sake.

It is doubtful whether he went from Rome to Spain as he intended to do, but he certainly returned to the East. During the years 65-7, he stayed in Crete, at Ephesus and finally in Macedonia where it is believed he was again arrested and taken to Rome in the year 68. The Christians, on whom Nero had laid the blame for the burning of the city (64) to divert from himself the probably well-founded suspicion that it was he who was responsible for it, were harassed at Rome with sadistic ferocity. According to Tacitus "a vast multitude was thrown into prison". Some of the prisoners came from distant provinces as was the case with St Peter and St Paul, but the majority had been rounded up on the spot, whence we may infer that the Christian community in Rome was already of considerable size.

The cruel nature of the punishment inflicted on the Christians had its effect on this community. St Paul's last days were darkened by apostasies and defections, news of which reached him in gaol. He was aware that the time was near when he would have to bear witness to Christ whom he had preached so learnedly and so lovingly. He wrote to Timothy:

As for me, my blood already flows in sacrifice; the time has nearly come when I can go free. I have fought the good fight; I have finished the race; I have redeemed my pledge; I look for-



ward to the prize that is waiting for me, the prize I have earned. The Lord . . . will grant it to me when that day comes; to me, yes, and all those who have learned to welcome his appearing.

As he enjoyed the *jus civitatis*, he had no torture to undergo. He was slain by the sword on the spot where, according to tradition, St Paul's-outside-the-Walls now stands.

St Peter, a poor lower-class Jew, had no such privilege. He was condemned to crucifixion but, according to an ancient tradition, considered himself unworthy of the same death as his master and asked to be crucified upside down.

Persecutions did not stop the progress of Christianity even among the upper classes which it had hitherto scarcely reached. We learn from Dion Cassius, author of a Roman History written in Greek, that the "consularis" Acilius Glabrio, Flavius Clemens, who was a consul in office at the time and a near relation of the Emperor, together with his wife Domitilla and other senators, were all accused of being "supporters of novel-ties", and suffered under Domitian's edicts.

St John had been exiled to Patmos by Domitian. After the Emperor's death, he returned to Ephesus. He was nearly ninety years old but showed no signs of decline. His Gospel and his three Epistles, overflowing with charity, date from this time. He continued to direct all the Christian communities of Asia, visited the provinces bordering on Ephesus either to consecrate bishops there or to establish new Churches as St Paul had previously done. The communities were to be linked to Christ through their bishops. "Christ comes from God", wrote St Clement of Rome, "the apostles come from Christ and it is they who, experiencing the first fruits of the Spirit, instituted certain men as bishops."

This programme seems to have been quickly implemented in the East. From the end of the second century, a number of cities in Asia Minor: Jerusalem, Joppa (now Jaffa), Caesarea, Tyre, Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum; in Greece, Corinth and Thessalonica; in Africa, Alexandria and Cyrene; among the islands, Cyprus and Crete,

all had organized Churches, governed by *episcopoi* and presbyters. In the West, we find scarcely any besides Rome and Puteoli. And both of these were the work of apostles from the East, so true is it that it was from the Christian East that the West was to receive in its turn the word of Christ. Yet we have no equivalent of the admirable source book which is the Acts of the Apostles to provide us with information on its diffusion throughout what was to become Europe.

## CHAPTER II

# THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS BORDER TERRITORIES

We should know nothing of the Christian centres founded throughout the Empire from the beginning of the second century onwards, were it not for a few passages dealing with the attitude of the imperial authority towards them. In the beginning this attitude was generally one of contempt based on the proud certitude that Graeco-Roman civilization had an outstanding, universal and imperishable value. It did not order persecutions *a priori*; it left Christians the choice between acceptance of the official worship or death. It is by means of the documents which give an account of the application of these regulations that we are able to follow the first trials and the first victories of Christianity.

Were it not for the terrible persecution of 177, we should certainly not know that it had taken firm enough root in the Lyons region to give seven martyrs to the Church of Gaul: Blandina, Biblis, Pothinus, bishop of Lyons and a native of Asia Minor (he was ninety years old at the time), Maturus, Sanctus, Ponticus and Attalus (?). Irenaeus, Pothinus' successor, a Greek and also a native of Asia, suffered martyrdom about the year 200. A passage from one of his letters gives us a useful summary of the situation of Christianity in the early years of the third century. "There are divers languages in the world, but the tradition of the faith is everywhere the same. The belief of the Churches of Germany is in no way different

from that of those in Iberia or among the Celts, or from that of those in Egypt and Palestine."

Except during the reigns of Decius, Valerian and Diocletian, who openly persecuted the Christians, the third century was on the whole a period of toleration. The Edict of Valerian, withdrawing from the Christians the right to form burial boards which had been granted to them by Septimius Severus, was especially directed against the upper classes. Christianity was therefore making sufficient progress to worry the public authorities. The philosopher Porphyry (233-304), a commentator and disciple of Plotinus, drew attention to this and was scandalized by it: "We come across them [the Christians] everywhere." Diocletian ordered the death penalty for civil servants who refused to abjure the Christian faith. Constantius Chlorus far from adopting the same attitude showed preference for these recalcitrant people. In his view, their resistance was a proof of their uprightness and fidelity. Lactantius mentions a town in Phrygia where all the inhabitants, including the civil and military chiefs and all the civil servants, were Christians.

Egypt and the part of Africa corresponding to the modern Tunisia were Christian. Christianity had taken root in Illyricum (now Yugoslavia), in Britain, along the Moselle, at Trier and Metz, along the Rhine (Cologne), at Lutetia, Rheims and in Spain.

The situation varied from province to province. Christians were in the majority in Asia Minor, southern Thrace, Cyprus, Armenia and the kingdom of Edessa. Their numbers equalled those of the pagans in Syria, Egypt, Greece, central and southern Italy, in proconsular Africa, southern Gaul and Spain. Their number was small in Palestine, Phoenicia, Arabia, the Danubian provinces, northern and eastern Italy, Mauritania and Tripolitania. Finally, they were only a tiny minority in the former Philistia, on the north and north-west coasts of the Black Sea, in the extreme north-west of Italy, the centre and north of Gaul, Belgium, Germany and Britain.

Constantine's victory over Maxentius (312) brought in its train the public recognition of Christianity. The attempted rejuvenation and humanization of paganism made by Julian the Apostate, who was Emperor from 361 to 363, came to nothing. Gratian (375-83) refused the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which his predecessors, including Constantine, had borne. The last defender of paganism, Symmachus, prefect of Rome, tried about the year 383 to restore the altar of the tutelary goddess of the city in the Senate House. Two years previously, a considerable number of senators had rejected a similar request and made it clear that they would no longer go to the Senate House if it were complied with. St Ambrose had only to recall this precedent for Symmachus' motion to be defeated. It was Ambrose who told the Emperors how they should behave in regard to Church affairs. A few years later, Theodosius promulgated anti-pagan legislation. Paganism, devoid of faith, as Mgr Batiffol has written, and increasingly a mere matter of form, had become secularized.

Christianity, then, was preached to begin with by a handful of men, most of them very simple men. True, the Holy Spirit dwelt in them but who was aware of this? In slightly more than three centuries Christianity had succeeded in taking root throughout the Roman Empire. Bossuet considered this was the result of miracles greater even than those that accompanied the preaching of Jesus Christ. Miracles are God's business and beyond our grasp, but the historian may legitimately examine the human means used by the divine power to bring them about, in a word, the play of secondary causes.

One of these appears in the Jewish communities which provided the apostles with their first audiences. Side by side with the resident Hebrews, there were, as the Acts tell us, Greeks, that is, Hebrews who came from abroad and were not Palestinians. They were in many cases people of importance enjoying a kind of monopoly in the economic life of the Empire. The Diaspora had scattered them abroad. But Rome had granted them a privileged status which allowed them the free

practice of their religion. Strabo, who died in 25 B.C., said that it would have been difficult to find a place "where this people had not been welcomed". Their professional activities made those who became converts valuable propagators of the faith. We might even say that they put Catholicism "on the map", and all the more successfully because they were in the main incomparable apostles.

In any case, the characteristic mark of the early Church was the apostolic zeal of its converts, whether of Jewish or pagan origin, patricians or members of the lower classes (and these were by far the most numerous). Pagan writers whose evidence cannot be gainsaid provide us with this information. Celsus is one example with his description of what he had seen in Roman families. He despised the Christians both because of their inferior social status and because they could neither read nor write, and he shows them insinuating themselves into the patrician families to do their work of conversion:

As soon as they can take to one side the children or a few women as senseless as themselves, they begin to exhibit their wonderful wares. They are the only people worth believing. The father of the family and its teachers are gasbags, dunderheads, unable either to know what is good or to achieve it. [The bolder spirits do not hesitate to egg the children on to rebellion. They are to cast off their masters as soon as they can and listen to the good news] in the wool carder's, the cobbler's and the launderer's work places. There they will learn perfect wisdom. This is the way the Christians set about gaining converts.

The work of conversion was confined to one spot in the case of some while for others it was done from place to place as is made clear in the following passage from Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*:

They [the converts] began by following the Saviour's advice and distributing their goods to the poor. Then leaving their country behind them, they went forth to fulfil their mission as evangelists, their ambition to preach the word of faith to those who had as yet heard nothing of it, and to hand on the books

of the divine Gospels. They were content to lay the foundations of the faith among foreign peoples and then established other pastors there, and to these they gave the task of nourishing those they had brought to the faith. Having done so, they went on to other lands and other nations by the grace and with the help of God.

The majority of these itinerant preachers have remained nameless, like all the saints whom the Church glorifies on the first of November. Yet a few are known to us: Timothy, son of a Jewish mother and a Greek father and the best loved of St Paul's companions; Titus, a Greek whom the great apostle made responsible for the collection at Corinth on behalf of the "saints" in Macedonia; Lucian, a Roman priest who exercised his zealous apostolate in the Beauvais district. It is believed that Diocletian ordered him to be beheaded about the year 290. Then there is St Sebastian, a soldier, who had chosen a military career so that he might help persecuted Christians without exciting suspicion. Diocletian tolerated him for a long time because of his eminent professional qualities, but then, exasperated by his ardent faith, ordered him to be beaten to death. We may also mention St Hilary who fought against the Arian heresy far beyond the limits of his own diocese. And there are so many more we could name!

Christianity made its first appearance as it was propagated along the Roman roads by missionaries or simply by converts of various types, soldiers, civil servants, merchants in the convoys sent out by the Roman power. The effort at evangelization during the first half of the third century was confined to the Provincia Narbonensis and the north-eastern region crossed by the roads which went from Lyons towards Paris, Rheims and Trier. The latter city was the most important administrative and military centre on the boundary of the *limes*. On the other hand, the western area from the Pyrenees to the North Sea was neglected for the time being. As Canon Griffie points out in his book *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine* (Toulouse, 1947), bishops "from Rome or elsewhere" naturally

did their work in the districts that were most romanized "or at least where the Roman or Eastern element was most in evidence". Meanwhile, therefore, there was no question of a native episcopate. Trier had a bishop as early as the third century, says Canon Griffe. The date of the earliest known bishop of Autun, Reticius, is 313, but he probably had one or even several predecessors.

Opinions vary as to the number of bishops in Gaul during the fourth century. The more prudent scholars give thirty-four as the figure for the year 346. In any case, at about this time the network of dioceses was fairly close-knit and Christianity was sufficiently rooted in the towns to allow a beginning to be made in the evangelization of the country districts.

This new apostolate found itself up against a different kind of paganism from that of the towns. It arose from and was sustained by the hopes and fears awakened in the peasant mind by the elements of water, fire, earth and heaven, and it was part and parcel of every act in men's lives and hence all the more difficult to eradicate. St Martin waged a successful war against it. The *Life* by Sulpicius Severus, which Fr Monceaux considered to be "a historical document", gives us an idea of what the apostolic "rounds" of the bishop of Tours were like. In the story of the destruction of a sacred tree we see him at work, not alone but surrounded by monks, in a township where stood a very ancient temple. St Martin was able to have it demolished without encountering any opposition. But when he ordered the sacred pine tree to be felled, a clamour arose and all his efforts to convince the peasants that a tree-trunk could have nothing divine about it were of no avail.

A pagan then ventured to say: "If you have any confidence in the God you say you adore, we will cut down this tree ourselves, only on condition that you stand underneath it when it falls. If your Lord is with you as you claim he is, you will escape." St Martin allowed himself to be put where the people wanted him to be. Just as the pine was about to crush him, he lifted his hand and the tree "was hurled back as though by the



force of a whirlwind" and fell on the opposite side so that "the peasants who thought they were safe" only just avoided being ground to powder. A great cry rose heavenwards, continues Sulpicius Severus, the pagans were dumbfounded, the monks wept for joy. So great was the shock that there was scarcely anyone "unwilling to abandon the errors of impiety".

Several details are worth nothing in this episode. First of all the failure of the bishop when he tried to make his audience understand that a tree-trunk could not possess any divine attributes. Nothing however justifies us in thinking that he found it difficult to preach a doctrinal sermon. Sulpicius Severus is anxious, on the contrary, to assure us, as against certain ill-intentioned contemporaries of his, that St Martin's words were "full of learning" and his eloquence generous and pure. He adds: "Doubtless this is a tribute of little value when we think of St Martin's virtues, but the amazing thing is that this particular merit should have been found in an unlettered man." But as far as the rude and superstitious audience to whom he was speaking was concerned, his arguments were far less effective than the manifestations of power. Hence the change of attitude that took place when they saw the pine move away from the bishop and threaten themselves.

The characteristic mark of St Martin's apostolate was the abundance of miraculous gifts with which he was favoured, still more the understanding love he showed towards the peasants. It caused him to limit to the strictly necessary minimum the sacrifices he demanded of them and the renunciations he imposed. Once they had become believers, what point was there in causing them pain or in humiliating them? Hence St Martin did not hesitate to have a church built near the spring or the clearing which had formerly been venerated and to which their pagan fathers and they themselves had come. There was nothing to stop them returning to it on the days on which they had been accustomed to visit it since Christianity had taken the place of paganism in their minds and at the very places where they had been in the habit of meeting.

Outside the Empire and long before its dissolution, Christian communities had been established during the first four centuries of the Christian era and almost exclusively in Asia.

The boundary of the Empire at the end of the second century followed the upper basin of the Tigris and rejoined the Euphrates in the middle of its course and so included north-western Mesopotamia. These Aramean lands gave a hearty welcome to Christianity. In about the year 200, the kingdom of Osrhoene, whose capital was Edessa, became Christian. Soon after, the reformed and militant Mazdean religion set up a vigorous resistance but was unable to prevent Christianity reaching Ctesiphon on the Tigris and from establishing outposts as far as the Persian Gulf by the end of the fourth century, and even in peninsular India where it is said to have been introduced by St Thomas.

In Armenia about the year 300, a solitary apostle, Gregory the Illuminator, converted Tiridates II. The aristocracy and the common people followed the example of their sovereign. Soon after, thanks to the learned monk Mesrob, Armenia had a translation of the Bible in its own dialect and even obtained its own liturgy.

In Georgia, a slave woman of unknown nationality who is called by her Christian name alone, Nina (*cristiana*), seems to have played a part similar to that of Clotilda among the Franks. Her reputation as a miracle worker, founded on several amazing cures, came to the ears of the queen who was wasting away because of a mysterious disease. She called her to her bedside but Nina refused to come. The queen came to her and was healed. She and Mirian the king offered her presents which she refused saying: "The only thing that can bring me pleasure is for you and the king to accept the Christian religion." The queen was converted but the king delayed his own decision until, threatened by death while hunting, he promised like Clovis at Tolbiac to be baptized if he were spared.

Ulfilas, well known for his translation of the New Testament into the Gothic dialect, converted the Goths who had settled

in the Dobrudja along the lower Danube. Later, several of his disciples fell into Arianism and introduced it to the West during their mass invasion.

Catholicism spread to the south of the Iranian Empire through the Syrian desert to the tribes of queen Mawia who were evangelized by the monk Moses in the reign of the emperor Valens, and in the following century to certain tribes of the Yemen.

None of these solitary apostles had turned his attention to Abyssinia but eventually two Tyrians were taken by force to that country. Their names were Frumentius and Edesius. The Ethiopians had massacred the whole crew of the ship that had brought them to Africa and they were the sole survivors. They had been spared on account of their youth and innocence. Their captors offered them to the king at Axum. He made Edesius his butler and Frumentius his treasurer. After the king's death Frumentius went to St Athanasius and begged him to appoint a bishop in Abyssinia. The patriarch of Alexandria replied: "Who is more full of the Holy Spirit than you yourself? Who is more suited to undertake this responsibility?" Frumentius received episcopal consecration, returned to Ethiopia and established Christianity there.

Gregory the Illuminator, Nina, Frumentius, Moses, Ulfilas were all solitary apostles. The first four based their apostolate on the conversion of the sovereign. All were foreigners in the countries they christianized. Some had been taken to these places by force and all, at least to begin with, acted without any mandate. In this respect they illustrate the essentially missionary character of the early Church. These converts—and we may learn a lesson from them—regulated their behaviour and their whole life in accordance with the words of the Psalm, "because I have believed, I have spoken", and this even when there was grave danger in so doing.

Ireland, the only Western country outside the boundaries of the Empire to receive the Gospel, was evangelized by a man of the same type and the same fervour as the others. Patrick too

was a solitary apostle and a "displaced person". About the year 405, Scots pirates (the Irish were called Scots at the time) during a raid on the south-west coast of Britain had captured him and then sold him as a slave in Ireland where for a time he was a shepherd. Patrick had been brought up a Catholic. After six years of slavery, he managed to escape and crossed to the Continent. The trial he had endured had revived his somewhat lukewarm faith and he went to make a retreat at Lérins after which he returned to his native land.

But it was Ireland he wanted to evangelize. Before going there, he crossed the Channel once more and asked the bishop of Auxerre for the diaconate. Meanwhile Palladius, the bishop sent by Pope Celestine to the Scots, had died. It is not even certain that he ever reached Ireland. Patrick, after consecration by St Germanus of Auxerre, was appointed to succeed Palladius (432).

Thus began one of the most extraordinary missions of that time, even if we confine ourselves to authenticated facts and leave to one side the mass of legendary episodes. The Irish, under the influence of abundant charismatic gifts comparable to those enjoyed by St Martin, renounced the druids and their ceremonies just as the peasants of Touraine had forsaken their idols.

After some ten years devoted to this miraculous apostolate, Patrick returned for the third time to the Continent which had been everywhere overrun by the barbarians during the preceding half-century. He had evidently in no sense abandoned—or so it would seem—the pressing urge to move about from place to place that apparently possessed the clerics of that time. True, Patrick's goal was Rome and his intention, a wholly spiritual one, was to strengthen the ties between the Christian communities of Ireland and the papacy. On his return he established his episcopal see at Armagh about the year 444. During the remaining ten years of his life he was to complete the conversion of Ireland and make it "the island of saints".

The Church of Ireland is peculiar in the sense that it

developed in a country that had not been colonized by Rome. For the first time in the West, Catholicism had come into direct contact with a religion with customs and institutions that owed nothing to the Graeco-Roman civilization which so many considered the most favourable environment for the establishment of Catholicism. And it had won a complete victory. The first mission to Ireland therefore developed in surroundings comparable to those which were to be encountered by modern missions. This is only a detail and should not make us forget the common and essential characteristic of all the Christian communities during the first few centuries. In Ireland, as elsewhere, their founders all hastened to place them in the charge of bishops.

The propagation of the Gospel, Mgr Batiffol has written, was "a multiplication of Churches analogous to a proliferation of cells". And their proliferation took place for the most part without any intervention on the part of Rome—another characteristic of the early Churches. When the barbarians were evangelized during the following period, missionaries in our sense of the word were to appear on the scene, missionaries, that is, who were envoys of the papacy.

### CHAPTER III

## THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE BARBARIANS

The invasions had brought about the collapse of the Roman Empire but had not disorganized the Church. The firm stand made by the bishops, including the bishop of Rome, as the sole defenders of peoples and cities against barbarian violence had, on the contrary, increased her prestige, and this is one of the good aspects of this chaotic time. But new problems faced her and of these the most urgent was to discover what political power was to succeed the Empire which had supported the Church since the days of Constantine.

Apart from the cities between the Seine and the Loire, "a pale reflection of the ruined Empire", which remained under the control of Syagrius, the whole of the West was occupied by the barbarians, Italy by the Ostrogoths (until the arrival of the Lombards), the Rhône valley by the Burgundians, Spain by the Suevi soon to be joined by the Visigoths who already governed Aquitania with Toulouse as their capital. Alsace and Lorraine were in the hands of the Alemanni, Africa in those of the Vandals. Finally, the Franks, who had first settled in the Tournai region, had advanced as far as the Loire after Clovis' victory over Syagrius at Soissons.

From the point of view of evangelization this barbarian world was divided into two groups. There were the totally pagan Franks, and the rest of the barbarians who for the most part had gone over to Arianism. On the one hand was a com-

plete ignorance of the faith, on the other, a corrupted knowledge which ruined its foundation since Christ's divine nature was denied.

Which task would prove the more difficult? To begin again from the beginning or to rectify a knowledge which was only partial? To win the pagan from his gods or to bring the Arian to admit that he was distorting the image of Christ? Hesitation was understandable and it is easy to see why the Gallo-Roman episcopate, as far as the pagans were concerned, watched with such interest the young Frankish chief, an ambitious man who had grasped the fact that Christianity held a preponderant place in Gallic society and constituted a real force which it would be better to win over to one's side rather than to attack.

It was in an atmosphere such as this and, on the whole, one not unfavourable to an understanding between Clovis and the bishops, that one of the latter, St Avitus, suggested to St Remi that the young chief should marry Clotilda, a Burgundian Catholic princess of exemplary piety. He hoped this might lead to Clovis' conversion. The marriage, celebrated in 493, did not at first change Clovis' inclinations. His first son died shortly after baptism. The second, who was also baptized, in his turn was at the point of death. Clotilda prayed that he might be cured. When Clovis saw that her prayer had been answered, he ceased to be hostile to the God of the Christians. He took the final step at Tolbiac in 496. It was like a story in a picture book. Seeing that victory was likely to escape him, Clovis promised to receive baptism if Clotilda's God should grant him success. His prayer was answered and the victorious chief was baptized at Rheims on Christmas Day, 496, together with three thousand of his soldiers.

This event raised great hopes. St Avitus, bishop of Vienne, greeted it as the starting-point of a new era which would gather all the peoples of Gaul under Clovis' rule "to the great advantage of the authority religion has to exercise". In the southern areas where the Arian chiefs were persecuting the Church, the king of the Franks soon came to be considered as a liberator,

as the man who would achieve political unity and the triumph of Catholicism over Arianism. We cannot doubt that he enthusiastically accepted this splendid assignment when we read the words attributed to him by Gregory of Tours: "I can no longer accept the fact that the Arians occupy part of Gaul. Let us then march against them with God's help, and if our enemies are conquered, we shall rule over the whole country."

This crusade against Arianism, begun at Tolbiac after the defeat of the Alemanni, was continued at Fleury with a crushing defeat of the Burgundians (500) and at Vouillé (507) by that of the Visigoths. Clovis thought he would end it in a final campaign against the Ostrogoths, but he died before he could launch it, in 511. But at least he had had time to prepare for the overthrow of Arianism and the triumph of the true faith in the West.

In any case, after his death, his story continued to have immense significance for the barbarian chiefs. Even the Arians among them were shaken and asked themselves whether they should remain faithful to Arianism once Clovis had triumphed over it in a perfectly regular manner? Why, too, should they not rally to Catholicism which from now onwards would be the conqueror's religion? It would certainly be untrue to urge that generosity and even a certain sense of the divine were unknown among the barbarians. The truth is that miracles as the outward sign of a mystery, in particular such a striking miracle as that of Tolbiac, demonstrated the powerlessness of their own gods to these men for whom might was everything. Clovis was the unchallengeable witness to the superiority of the Christians' God.

For the bishops the story of Clovis was valued as a precedent to be extended throughout the West. Following as it did upon that of Constantine, it suggested that it would be wise to attempt to convert sovereigns in the first place and that this initial stage would prepare for the conversion of their subjects. Among the Burgundians, the method was a complete success. After the baptism of Sigismund by the bishop of



Vienne (500), a considerable section of the aristocracy followed his example. So influential was the bishop who converted him that there was no outbreak of violence against the Arians. An edict placed the old Catholics of Gallo-Roman origin and the new Burgundian converts on an equal footing and the fusion of the two races was thus prepared.

St Martin of Braga obtained similar results among the Suevi, as did also St Leander among the Visigoths. But the latter's conversion was as violent in its circumstances as that of the former was easy and peaceful. Arianism had by no means overrun the whole of Spain, although Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, had given strong support to the heresy. Of his two sons, one, Reccared, was of the same opinion as himself. The other, Hermenigild, had renounced Arianism under the influence of St Leander, bishop of Seville. The antagonism between the two men led to civil war. At first, Hermenigild entered wholeheartedly into the struggle and even went so far as to send St Leander to Constantinople to ask for the emperor's support against his father's party. But then, out of filial piety, although fully believing in the justice of his own cause, he accepted the offer of negotiation sent to him by Reccared and gave himself up to his father, who pretended to pardon him, yet immediately afterwards had him cast into prison. He wanted his son to return to Arianism and to renounce the true faith. He failed to persuade him and handed him over to the executioners who cut his throat. Heresy gained nothing by this. On the contrary, Reccared who had succeeded his father, took up a more conciliatory attitude under the influence of St Leander and became better disposed. He agreed to call a council at Toledo in 589. The delegates of the clergy and of the people made a profession of orthodoxy, so that here again, unity of religion brought about peaceful racial fusion.

Apart from the warm congratulations addressed to St Remi by Pope Hormisdas after the conversion of Clovis, the share

of the papacy in the missions during this period seems to have been very limited. It could not have been otherwise at a time when the barbarians were piling ruin upon ruin and had to be resisted unless all was to be lost in both the temporal and the spiritual orders, at a time, too, when this resistance confined the ecclesiastical authorities within the territory over which they exercised their jurisdiction. Rome, like the other bishoprics, could not avoid this isolation nor these necessities.

St Leo himself, active and apostolic though he was, had to endure this state of affairs. Resistance to the barbarians kept him fully occupied. Attila was threatening Mantua and it was only by going out to meet him at the head of a deputation that St Leo persuaded him to withdraw. In less than three years later, he had to face Genseric, the king of the Vandals. In addition to material ruin, there were the dangers with which the heresies were threatening the true faith, Pelagianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, etc. St Leo's glory lies in having triumphed over all these difficulties and in having given decisions sufficiently authoritative to be accepted after his death.

Under succeeding pontificates, the invasions of the Lombards had made the prevalent disorder even worse. When the system of an elected monarchy had divided the Lombard kingdom into some thirty duchies while a large number of the cities still depended on Byzantium, anarchy reached its zenith.

It was at this moment that a great pope came onto the scene. He was able to make use of the situation in order to restore all its prestige to the papacy. Of patrician stock, he had been prefect of Rome. Yet honours had no attraction for him. He had heeded the Gospel counsel and, in his search for perfection, had sold all his immense property in order to provide endowment for monasteries. He himself had then withdrawn to one of these, on the Coelian hill. The conclave came to fetch him from it as the successor of Pelagius II (590). His name was Gregory.

Like St Leo, he resisted the anarchy and violence of the

barbarians and succeeded in containing them. He then followed the policy which St Remi and other bishops had found so successful and arranged a marriage between Agilulf, Duke of Turin, and Theodelinda, a Catholic princess whose spiritual director he was. Theodelinda did not become Italy's Clotilda, as he had hoped she would, but she did at least have her children baptized, and built churches, among them that of Monza where her memory is preserved. If St Columbanus (c. 530–615) was able towards the end of his life to found a monastery at Bobbio, it was because the surrounding regions had been christianized by this princess.

In Gaul, Gregory (590–604), an indefatigable letter-writer, gave spiritual direction to Childebert II, son of Brunehaut, whom he recommended to support efforts to evangelize the countryside, and as we have just seen, he had given the full force of his own support to St Leander in Spain against the partisans of Arianism.

England above all was the object of his apostolic zeal. After its entry into the framework of the Empire, the south of the island had had its missionaries. So well did they establish Christianity that the young Church of Britain could boast of its martyrs under Diocletian and of its three bishops at the Council of Arles in 314. The Saxon invasion of the fifth century had ravaged it but without disorganizing its hierarchy and its clergy or emptying its monasteries. But later the resentment felt by the invaded Britons against the invading Saxons remained for a long time so bitter that the former could not be asked, even when they were ordained priests, to share the work of evangelization of the latter.

Gregory the Great therefore decided to send them a mission whose members he recruited from among the monks on the Coelian. Forty of them set out under the leadership of Augustine their prior. It was the largest apostolic expedition that had ever been undertaken. It immediately succeeded in converting king Ethelbert whose initiation into the new faith had been the work of the queen, Bertha, a Parisian and a woman of the

same type as St Clotilda. Several monasteries were founded and Augustine became bishop of Canterbury.

Gregory the Great had thought out bold methods of placing the new church on solid foundations. As he wrote to Melitus, the monk founder of the see of London:

Tell Augustine that after giving much consideration to the affairs of the English, I have decided it would be unwise to destroy the temples. Destroy the idols only, then sprinkle the buildings with holy water, erect altars and put relics in them. If these temples are well built, they can be transferred from the worship of demons to that of the true God. Thus the nation, seeing that its sanctuaries are left standing, will abandon its errors and acknowledge and worship the Lord. People will find it easier to come to the places which they have previously frequented.

[He uses the same tactics in regard to sacrifices:] Here again the previous custom must be transformed into the celebration of a Christian feast. Thus, on the day of the dedication, on the anniversary of the holy martyrs whose relics are venerated in the place, let the people put up their tents of leaves round the temples which have thus been transformed into churches and let them celebrate the feast with religious festivities. They are no longer to immolate animals to the devil but to kill them in God's honour and then eat them. And when they have had enough, let them give thanks to the author of all gifts. . . . It is impossible to change barbarian minds completely. This is most certainly true, for the top of a mountain can indeed be reached but only step by step not by leaps and bounds. It was in this way that God made himself known to the people of Israel.

Gregory the Great granted the pallium, the distinguishing mark of archbishops, to Augustine and announced that he had created two metropolitan sees, at Canterbury and at York. Each of these was to have twelve bishoprics under its direction. Neither he himself (he died in 604) nor Augustine, who died shortly after, was granted the privilege of working out this great plan in practice, but they had opened the way.

The Church of England met with many and considerable

difficulties. Fierce rivalry existed between princes who had remained pagan and their converted neighbours. Hostility persisted between the Britons belonging to the earlier Christian communities and the Saxon invaders. It was only when another band of missionaries arrived (c. 657) under the leadership of Theodore of Tarsus that charity triumphed and both parties were persuaded to submit to Rome.

The monasteries developed considerably. The most celebrated were Croyland and Wearmouth. From this time forward it was possible to speak of a Church of Britain, the Church which harboured the life of prayer and work of St Bede the Venerable.

## CHAPTER IV

# THE EVANGELIZATION OF GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA

Christianity had already made a few foundations in Germany when the first organized mission arrived there in the middle of the seventh century. Certain bishoprics had, in fact, been founded during the days of the Late Empire and had outlived it, e.g. Coire in the Grisons, Saben on the Italian side of the Alps, Augsburg, Trier the seat of one of the oldest bishoprics of the Roman period.

Here and there in various regions, individual and obscure members of the Frankish clergy had crossed the Rhine. Some had gone as far as the Danube basin. The first and perhaps the most active of these, St Severinus, was at Astura (now Stockerau) in 454. For thirty years he evangelized Bavaria and Austria, built churches and founded monasteries, for he had compassion on sinners and on the poor and lived in the greatest austerity.

Emmeramus evangelized Ratisbon (Regensburg). Eustace who died in 640 continued the work of St Severinus among the Boiarii of Bavaria. Rupert became bishop of Salzburg, Amandus travelled throughout Flanders, Brabant, the Tournai country, the Beauvais region and then went to preach as far away as Carinthia.

Where did they all come from? We do not know the place

of St Severinus' birth. Rupert was a Frank from the Worms district; Eustace a Burgundian and also a disciple of St Columbanus. When the latter had been expelled from Luxeuil by Thierry II, Eustace had succeeded him at the head of the illustrious abbey in the Franche-Comté which, with some six hundred monks within its walls, maintained celebrated schools and sent out colonies over a wide area. The appearance of Irish monasticism on the scene during the period preceding the arrival of the first missions in Germany should be noted. Not that it directly shared—to any great extent at least—in the preaching of the Gospel; Irish monasticism preferred the eremitical life and, in the course of his numerous journeys, St Columbanus had principally in mind the founding of monasteries. But the learning, virtues and asceticism of these monasteries were of benefit to generations of monks in various places and notably in Northumbria whence numbers of missionaries were to set out for Germany. On their arrival there, they found the ground had been prepared for them to the south of the Main. The region over which paganism held absolute sway began only to the north of this river.

We may wonder why the apostolic ardour of the Northumbrians chose Germany. The answer is that the conversion of their island was now almost completed and the continental Germans were of the same race as the Angles and Saxons who had invaded Britain and whose descendants some of these Northumbrians were.

The first point of contact was in Friesland. In a sense this was the result of an odd stroke of fortune. Wilfrid of Northumbria during the early stages of a journey to Rome in 678 was forced to spend the winter in Friesland. While there he converted several chieftains. He did not revisit the area but it was he who had provided the necessary stimulus. The missionaries sent by his fellow countryman Egbert found no signs of Christianity surviving nor were they able to revive it. Two of them, Hewald the White and Hewald the Black, were put

to death by Radbod, king of Friesland, a fierce enemy of Christ.

Willibrord (or Willibrod), another of Wilfrid's disciples, was more fortunate. He converted the Utrecht region, founded two churches and a school for the formation of a Frisian clergy. Radbod prevented Christianity from penetrating elsewhere. Willibrod, disappointed by his partial failure in Friesland, went on to Thuringia where a Christian prince was in power, and he worked out for this principality a programme of apostolic activity which he was able to carry out only in part. He did however have time to establish some of his disciples in various centres. Then, weakened by old age, he scarcely ever left the abbey of Eisenach which he had founded in Luxemburg. It was here that he died in 739. At about the same time, St Pirminius, who may have come from Aquitania, preached in Alemannia and founded the monasteries of Reichenau (on an island in Lake Constance) and Murbach. From these, numbers of monks went forth to evangelize the neighbouring territories. When Winfrid, the future Boniface, appeared on the scene, several generations of his predecessors had therefore done a work of preparation which should not be passed over in silence.

Winfrid was born in 675 in Wessex, the south-west of England. He was educated first at Exeter, then at Nursling near Southampton, two small abbeys which, under the protection of Theodore of Tarsus, the pope's envoy, were devoted to the Roman spirit at least as much as to pure Irish monasticism. His apostolic vocation was certainly indebted to this Irish monasticism, but it developed in a Roman atmosphere. This doubtless explains why he decided so early to place his missions under the authority of the papacy.

At least it is true that after his first contact with Friesland in 716, he came away convinced that the apostolate of isolated individuals could never establish anything great or lasting in this country. He therefore suggested to Gregory II that the method adopted by St Gregory in the case of England should be repeated. The pope agreed and on May 11th, 719, ordered



him to make a visitation of the German peoples. "You shall no longer be called Winfrid," he added, "but Boniface, the doer of good."

On his return, Boniface undertook the reform of the Thuringian clergy created by Willibrod. In so doing, he found himself in conflict with his predecessor. We hasten to add that the death of Radbod, the pagan tyrant, had made it possible for the missionaries to come back to Friesland, and Boniface joined Willibrod and under his orders worked for three years for the conversion of the Frisians.

He then went on to Hesse and founded there the monastery of Amöneburg whose influence rapidly brought about a number of conversions. When the pope was informed of these excellent results, he summoned Boniface to Rome, consecrated him bishop and, when he set out again, handed him letters of recommendation to Charles Martel. From then onwards, the work of Boniface was to develop on a new and wider scale. Hitherto it had been purely missionary, it was now to organize and create Churches with the support of the Frankish monarchy.

On his return, he made a confirmation tour through Hesse, destroyed the idols there and founded the celebrated abbey of Fritzlar. Passing on into Thuringia, he began by establishing a monastery at Ohrdurf near Gotha. But very soon Willibrod's missionaries, supported by the political authorities in Thuringia, clashed with those of Boniface. Willibrod decided to withdraw his men. Boniface, now sole master in the land, took advantage of the fact to found a new Church. His success was so complete that Gregory II recognized it by sending him the pallium.

With the help of monks summoned from England the new archbishop devoted all his care to the three abbeys of Fritzlar, Ohrdurf and Amöneburg, which soon had novitiates for the reception of natives of the country. Their influence was so widespread that Duke Hubert of Bavaria (c. 735) invited Boniface to visit his country. As we have already seen, there were Christian communities there, bishops even, but of unequal

merit. One of them was even suspected of idolatry. There, as in Thuringia, reform was necessary.

Boniface went to the pope and asked for the powers he needed. Once he had obtained them from Gregory III, he used them promptly and vigorously. Of the four bishops then in office, he kept only one, the bishop of Passau. Those of Ratisbon, Salzburg and Freising he deposed and replaced by men of his own choice. Gregory's successor, Zachary, ratified everything he had done.

He installed another bishop at Fichstätt on the border between Bavaria and Franconia, appointed bishops—all of them priests from Britain—to the sees of Würzburg, Buraburg and Erfurt. By the year 741, the hierarchy had been established everywhere from the Rhine to Bohemia.

Boniface then wished to return to the evangelization of the Frisians, his original aim, constantly postponed but never forgotten. The reform of the Church of Gaul, for which the papacy had made him responsible, took him away for another ten years. When this work was done, he went down the Rhine in 753 (he was 79) accompanied by three priests, three deacons and four monks, on the way to Friesland. He visited the Zuyderzee, spent the winter at Utrecht and, when spring came, set out northwards preaching the true faith and making a large number of converts. But the old Frisian fanaticism revived as vigorous as ever. On June 5th, a group of pagans attacked the mission at Dokkum, put Boniface to death and massacred most of his companions. Some Franks came and took away the bodies of the martyrs. That of the apostle of Germany was buried at Fulda, the monastery founded by his disciple, Sturmi.

When Charlemagne came to the throne (771), the situation was still much as it had been when Boniface died. The only new victory for Christianity had been won by Gregory, abbot of Utrecht, in the part of Friesland to the west of the Lauwers. Independent Friesland east of the Lauwers, then known as Saxony, the territory between the sea to the north, Hesse and

Thuringia to the south, the Rhine to the west and Swabia to the east, remained under the domination of the violent and fiercely anti-Roman paganism of the Saxons. One of its idols, Irmino, they had glorified on the summit of the Eresburg, under the form of a statue of Arminius, the destroyer of the legions of Varus. As long as this barbarian worship remained intact there was little hope of Roman Christianity penetrating this region and it could only be destroyed by force. Hence the part played by Charlemagne in this final phase of the conversion of Germany.

In the second year of his reign he destroyed the Irminsûl. At the time it was more important to master the Saxon forces than to conquer Saxony. In any case, after the first campaigns, the conquered troops were baptized *en masse*, the Westphalians at Paderborn (776). The division of southern and western Saxony into sectors which were to receive Christian missionaries was already in course of preparation when, in 778, Widukind, the champion of the resistance, placed himself at the head of a rising which he persuaded the Danes to join, and advanced as far as Coblenz, ravaging Hesse and sweeping the Frankish forces before him.

Charlemagne replied with a show of force that brought his armies as far as the Elbe. His object was still the evangelization of the region. Ten years previously, a Northumbrian missionary, Willehad, had converted the Frisians of the Drenthe. Charlemagne chose this exemplary apostle for the evangelization of the territory between the lower reaches of the Elbe and the Weser—Wihmodia, where the population was largely Frisian. Two years later, the Frankish troops suffered a reverse and another rising resulted. Willehad survived it without injury but several of his helpers were martyred.

Charlemagne countered with a policy of terrorization. In a single day he massacred 4,500 rebels at Verden. Draconian penal laws were promulgated. Sacrilege was punishable by death, and not only sacrilege but anyone plotting against the Christians or any unbaptized Saxon attempting to hide among

his fellows or refusing to be baptized. The choice lay between submission, that is baptism, and death. Widukind eventually chose baptism and received it in 785 at Attigny-sur-l'Aisne.

Ten years of calm followed and the missionaries made full use of them. Willehad returned to Wihmodia and established the first Saxon bishopric at Bremen. Soon afterwards, Minden also had its bishop. The Verden region was evangelized by monks from Amorbach and the Münster area by an abbot, while in southern Saxony missionaries from the Church of Eresburg preached the Gospel. But the old German spirit was still only dormant and the defeat of a Frankish force in 793 reawakened it with all that this meant in the way of hatred of Catholicism. The rebels pillaged the churches, massacred the priests. The same fate awaited the Saxon converts who refused to deny their faith. A number of them preferred martyrdom to apostasy. The true faith therefore was already firmly based. Four campaigns were needed to bring peace to Saxony. It then became possible to organize the Church. It was divided into four dioceses: Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück and Bremen. Liudger, a Frisian, grandson of one of Willibrod's converts and who had been forced by the 784 revolt to take refuge in Italy, became bishop of Münster. Under Louis the Pious, the eastern part of Saxony was given three dioceses: Hildesheim, Halberstadt and Hamburg.

Until the final pacification of the territory, the missionaries all came from monasteries situated to the west of the Rhine, on the Frankish side. The foundations on the right bank only appeared in the last years of Charlemagne's reign, at Wisbek, Meppen on the Ems, at Corvey and Stavoren. A number of Saxons joined the Corvey community which became an active spiritual centre and was soon to share in the christianization of the Scandinavian peoples.

The Danes had taken part in the great rising of Wadukind. They had then barred the Slesvig isthmus by means of an enormous earth wall to be safe from the repressive measures the

Saxons had been obliged to endure. Louis the Pious took care not to attack it. Behind this wall and as a reaction against Christianity, the worship of Thor had taken on a new lease of life. The worshippers of the god carried his hammer round their necks in the form of an amulet and also underwent a kind of baptism which was a parody of the Christian sacrament. Nevertheless, Christianity had penetrated their ranks to a very small extent, it is true, and by methods which remind us of those we have seen at work throughout the Roman Empire. Dorestad, a port on the Rhine delta, in an area christianized under Frankish influence, was the starting-point of the road which went via the Slesvig isthmus and the Baltic and ended at Birka, the commercial centre of Sweden on an island to the west of Stockholm. Christian merchants and in particular Christian slaves came to this city in sufficient numbers to form an embryo Christian community.

Yet it was not at Birka that the first contact was made between the Frankish missions and the Scandinavians, but in Denmark which Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, though of German birth, entered as legate of Paschal III in 823 together with the monks Halitgar and Willerich. The latter was bishop of Bremen. Their aim was to obtain the goodwill or better still the conversion of the princes in the hope that their subjects would follow them. But there were no persons of importance among the converts they baptized.

In 826 a new mission under the direction of the monk Anscar, entered Jutland. It had no greater success than had Ebbo's. Three years later, a delegation from Sweden came to Worms to inform the Emperor that certain Swedes wished to receive baptism. Anscar agreed to leave for Birka with a monk called Witmar. The king authorized them to preach and to build the first church in Scandinavia. But apart from the king's representative among the merchants and a few other private persons, Anscar's flock belonged entirely to the community of Christian slaves whose origin we have already described.

On his return to Frankish territory eighteen months later Anscar was consecrated bishop of Hamburg, and Gregory IV subsequently divided Scandinavia between him and Ebbo. Denmark was Anscar's province and Sweden Ebbo's. A bishop, Gauzbert, succeeded in remaining at Birka for some twelve years. He was alone at first but shortly afterwards was joined by another missionary, yet no new converts were made. Relations with the Swedes even became less cordial in the end. During a riot, Gauzbert's helper was killed, and he himself was unable to remain at Birka.

In Denmark, Anscar was more fortunate, thanks to the support of King Haarek who authorized him to build a church at Slesvig and another at Ribe. In 852, Anscar was once more at Birka together with the monk Erimburt. The small community of slaves had been without a pastor for some years but until Anscar's death, Birka had several priests-in-charge. Subsequently only the communities at Slesvig and Ribe survived.

We may wonder why such courageous and fervent pioneers were unable to attract a larger audience. The reason is that their first foundations were composed almost entirely of foreigners—merchants and slaves. In Scandinavia, as in the West as a whole, we may say that the native populations became Christian when the example had been set by sovereigns and public figures. It is the story of Clovis constantly repeated.

But among the Scandinavians, the first chiefs to be converted were those who obtained kingdoms by conquest in christianized territories. Marriages and alliances were sealed by baptism. Guthred, the second king of York, was baptized at the end of the ninth century. Sigtrygg and Olaf, kings of Dublin, died Christians in the tenth century. Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, received baptism and his duchy at one and the same time in 911. In all these cases, paganism began by evincing strong resistance to such examples although they were set by men of high rank. Eventually, however, it capitulated fairly quickly.

The Scandinavian territories properly so-called became Christian at a later date. In Denmark, the baptism of king

Harald is shrouded in mystery. It is at least an established fact that bishops (of German origin, it is true) represented the country at the Synod of Ingelheim (948), those of Slesvig, Ribe and Aarhus. The progress of Christianity continued to meet serious obstacles for almost a century. Then King Canute the Great, who died in 1035, established regular relations with the Holy See and these were ratified by his nephew Sven Estridsen.

Viking princes, who had been baptized outside the country, established Christianity in Norway. Haakon the Good did not show any great zeal. On the other hand, Olaf, son of Tryggvi (995–1000) and, above all, Olaf the Fat (St Olaf, 1014–30) were real apostles. At the end of the eleventh century, there were three bishoprics: Trondhjem, Bergen, Oslo.

Iceland received missionaries brought from the Continent by the Vikings. Paganism disappeared but after a long period of resistance. In the year 1000, the plenary assembly of the Icelanders decided that Christianity should be the only authorized form of worship.

Sweden's conversion followed a different, slower and more mysterious course and missionaries from outside the country played the leading part in it. The German Bruno of Querfurt, the Englishman Osmund, are the best known among these. Here again, paganism proved tenacious especially in Uppland and Götaland, a southern province, where it did not surrender until the twelfth century.

## CHAPTER V

# EVANGELIZATION OF THE SLAVS, MAGYARS AND RUSSIANS

At the beginning of the ninth century in the Frankish states, the bishoprics nearest the eastern frontier were Ratisbon, Passau and Salzburg. To the East stretched the Slav countries in which organized Christian communities were non-existent. Frankish priests and monks had visited them for many years previously, yet the first missions did not come from the Frankish empire.

In 862, Ratislav, prince of the Moravians, turned to Constantinople for help in countering a *rapprochement* between the Franks and the Bulgars which was causing him anxiety and he asked the Emperor Michael III (842-67) to send him missionaries who knew the Slavonic language. The civil and religious powers, the Emperor and the Patriarch, delighted to steal a march on Rome in the interests of the Byzantine Church, appointed Constantine and Methodius, two brothers whose learning and virtue were of the highest order. These two apostles, of course, remained outside these rivalries and played a decisive part in the establishment of Christianity among the Slavs.

They were Greeks by birth, sons of a high-grade civil servant of Thessalonica and had themselves held important civil offices. Constantine, known as the Philosopher, had taught



philosophy at the imperial university. He had translated into Slavonic a collection of passages from the Gospels before they set out on their journey. Methodius also knew Slavonic. Their hearers were therefore pleasantly surprised to be instructed in Christianity through the medium of their own language and by apostles thoroughly informed about their culture and national spirit. After mature reflection, Constantine gave them a liturgy they could understand in the Slavonic tongue. This was a new departure and made his work distinctly easier.

The Holy See approved and a little later confirmed it when the Roman clergy tried to have it condemned. Adrian II gave a very favourable welcome to the two brothers in Rome. He supported them and in order to give more prominence to his decision, arranged for their disciples to be ordained by a distinguished member of the Roman party well known for his opposition to the two apostles. The latter had the joy of seeing the Slavonic liturgical books placed on the altar of *Sancta Maria ad Praesepe*<sup>1</sup> and the Slavonic liturgy celebrated in the basilicas of St Peter, St Petronilla, St Andrew and St Paul.

Constantine, feeling that his end was near, withdrew to a monastery and took the monastic habit under the name of Cyril. On February 14th, 869, he died charging his brother and his disciples to continue the work that had been begun.

Methodius became bishop of Sirmium, archbishop of Pannonia and, finally, papal legate to the Slav peoples. This did not prevent the Frankish bishops from waging fierce war against him. They refused to recognize his authority, imprisoned him and only set him free when ordered to do so by John VIII, who commanded the archbishop of Salzburg personally to conduct him back to Moravia and to re-establish him in his see.

Methodius died on April 6th, 885. His death did not put an end to the opposition of the Frankish bishops, who succeeded in having the Slavonic liturgy banned and in driving several of Methodius' disciples from Moravia. These exiles

<sup>1</sup> St Mary Major.

went to Bulgaria and took with them the sacred books in Slavonic. Thus the work of the two brothers Cyril and Methodius came under the domination of the Byzantine Church and shared its subsequent fate.

Meanwhile, the Magyars from the East had invaded Hungary. Their initiation into Christianity may have been begun by Byzantine priests during the first stage of their migration. It was continued by Frankish priests depending on the bishoprics of Passau and Ratisbon.

Then the principal evangelist of the Hungarians appeared, St Adalbert, a Slav whose original name was Voytiekh. He was martyred by the Prussians near Danzig in 997. Adalbert had the good fortune to administer confirmation to the son of the Hungarian duke, Geiza. This convert became king under the name of Stephen and consecrated his kingdom to the Blessed Virgin. The pope gave him the title of "apostolic king" because he had made Hungary a Christian country.

Further east, the principality of Kiev was governed from 945 by Princess Olga, widow of Igor, who had been taught the principles of Christianity by Byzantine priests. The conversion of the princess provoked a violent reaction among the pagans and her son Sviatoslav placed himself at its head. The war which followed took the prince into Bulgaria where, as we have seen, some of Methodius' disciples had taken refuge. The stay made by these Kiev Russians in Bulgaria was to have fortunate results. Sviatoslav returned to Kiev unconverted, but a number of his soldiers while they were among the Bulgars had come to know Christianity in its Slavonic form, far more intelligible to them than in its Latin form. The first step along the right road had been taken. The Christian religion won the day in Russia and Olga's dream had come true.

## CHAPTER VI

# THE MISSIONS AMONG THE MONGOLS

At the beginning of the thirteenth century while the Church was still preaching the Crusade, St Francis of Assisi's Order of Friars Minor and St Dominic's Order of Preachers came into existence at one and the same time. Although these two movements were different in character, there is no reason, in our opinion, why they should be considered as in opposition to one another. Each was an answer to certain needs of the time.

Islam, or, as the phrase was, the Saracens, had behaved as a determined enemy of Catholicism in Africa and Spain. They occupied the Holy Places. By undertaking to free these from their domination, the Crusaders, as is made clear by a passage in the cartulary of the abbey of St Bertin, were seeking to increase the body of the Church and to restore to God lands and cities unjustly held by the infidels. But to these motives of a religious nature were added others of a very human kind which did not diminish as time went on.

Jerusalem was taken and lost again. This failure was salutary, we might almost be tempted to say, since it did not effect the lasting results on the intellectual and economic levels. It was when the spirit of the Crusades had revealed its weaknesses that St Francis came upon the scene and preached a missionary doctrine inspired, as was his whole life, solely by the spirit of the Gospel. We cannot say it was new, for it was

that of the early Church. The Moslems were commonly considered to be simply men whose throats were to be cut and they, in their turn, asked for nothing better than to return the compliment, so as to receive not only an eternal reward but also the golden *besant* the Sultan ordered should be given to every man who brought back the head of a Christian. St Francis suggested that men should go to them for no other purpose than to preach the Gospel and lead them to baptism without any threats or use of force.

He himself joined the crusaders in 1219 at Damietta and put his method into operation in spite of the opposition of Cardinal Pelagio. He went towards the enemy lines and succeeded in obtaining an audience of the Sultan Melck-El-Kamel. The Sultan argued that he could not change his religion without alienating his people. St Francis, having failed to achieve any result, came sadly away.

St Dominic too was prevented from realizing his desire to become a missionary but he wished that his disciples should take their share in missionary work.

It was therefore in obedience to their illustrious founders that Franciscans and Dominicans, the wandering friars of both Orders, wanted to continue the evangelization of the Gentiles in Asia.

In about the year 1223, the Dominicans, under the protection of the king of Hungary, arrived among the Comans or Qiptchaq, who lived in the Ukrainian steppes and were for the most part Shamanists. The wave of conversions caused by the baptism of one of their chiefs became considerable enough to lead the papacy to establish a bishopric among the Comans. The Dominicans then moved on to the north-east into greater Hungary or the territory situated to the east of the upper reaches of the Volga. But the Mongol invasion soon wiped out every vestige of the Comanian mission.

These Mongols had nevertheless destroyed the Moslem empires of the Middle East. Further, as a large number of Nestorians lived under their rule and apparently in reasonable

freedom, the papacy did not consider them at the outset as enemies. Innocent IV sent ambassadors to them in preference to missionaries; their task was to explore the ground and to prepare for the return to unity of the schismatics and heretics and, if possible, to persuade the Mongols to abandon violent methods.

Two Franciscans, Dominic of Aragon and John of Piano di Carpine, set out on a journey, one to the Armenians, the other to the Russians, while two Dominicans, Andrew of Longjumeau and Ascelin of Cremona, were sent, one to Syria and beyond and the other to the Mongol princes. In the end, Piano di Carpine alone made contact with one of these, Güyük. This khan gave a courteous hearing to his exposition of Christianity, refused to be baptized and took leave of the Franciscan, at the same time instructing him to tell the pope that he considered the papacy his (Güyük's) vassal.

Reports which came in later claimed that some Mongol chiefs had become converts to Christianity. This time St Louis, with the pope's approval, sent Andrew of Longjumeau on a second mission. Meanwhile Güyük had died. His widow politely accepted the presents sent by the king of France. Among these were relics of the true Cross. She herself gave presents in return to the Dominican for St Louis but refused any precise undertaking in regard to the plan for a Franco-Mongol alliance against the Moslems of Irak. She too urged a counter-claim to the right of suzerainty over the West.

Nevertheless Andrew of Longjumeau returned to report some good prospects for future missions. The Mongols were strictly neutral in religious matters. Further there were Christians at court in the higher ranks of the administration and even in the near neighbourhood of the throne. It was even said that the mother of Mangou (the emperor and a grandson of Genghis Khan) and several of his wives were Christians as well as Sartach, the khan in command between the Don and the Volga. As Matrod writes in his *Étude sur le voyage de Guillaume de Rubrouck*: "People began to dream of the days

of St Helena, Constantine Chlorus and Constantine . . . in their over-excited imaginations they already saw the Cross casting its shadow over the tents of the nomads. It was still unsteady but an apostle would be able to plant it firmly there."

The apostle chosen was a Franciscan Friar Minor, William of Rubruck, who came from the village of that name in French Flanders. The letters St Louis gave him did not mention political problems, they merely begged Prince Sartack to authorize the bearer and his companion, Bartholomew of Cremona, to remain in the territories under his command "in order to teach the word of God". The king of France had asked William to write down an account of everything of every sort which he might see among the Tartars. This embassy which at first was sent to Sartach alone, that is to the territory north and north-east of the Caspian and Aral seas, went as far as Karakorum, the capital of the empire.

Everywhere the two Friars Minor, alone in the tower of Babel of the imperial horde, succeeded in gaining a hearing from the princes Sartach, Batou and Mangou, the great khan. They even won their esteem while the courtiers did all they could to be of disservice to them. The words of farewell addressed to them by Mangou were full of meaning. This hardened sceptic—and his scepticism was doubtless due to the lack of zeal he saw among the followers of the various religions who lived at his court—paid homage to their generosity, their disinterestedness and their uprightness. In the humble and charitable conduct of the two Franciscans he caught at least a momentary glimpse of the value of the true faith.

After this isolated visit, genuine missions, profiting by the very ancient relations between East and West, went to Asia.

Between the West—especially Italy—and the Djagataï khanat, there existed means of communication which crossed the Crimea, passed through Saraï, a town on the Volga, to the north of the Caspian Sea, then south of the Sea of Aral as far as Almeliğ at the centre of the middle Tartar empire. Further,

certain Italian cities had established banks for their trade, Venice at Tana on the Sea of Azov at the mouth of the Don, Genoa in several of the Black Sea ports. In all these places, the missionaries could quite safely establish posts to serve as stages for their work.

A great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, reached China shortly before them. He left Constantinople in 1260 with his brother and when he arrived at Pekin (Kambalik) he was very courteously received by the great khan Qubilai and was commissioned by him to ask Gregory X (1271-6) to send missionaries to his empire. The first two parties went no further than Armenia. When Qubilai sent a second request, a very experienced Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, set out in 1289. He travelled by sea, embarked in the Persian Gulf and reached Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast, and then continued to St Thomas on the coast of Coromandel. From there he went on to the Chinese port of Zayton and completed the final stage of his journey on foot. When he arrived at Kambalik, he handed his pontifical letters to Qubilai's successor. His first audiences were Nestorians belonging to the kingdom of Ongüt, some hundreds of miles to the north-west of Kambalik. The king was converted and gave him every facility he needed for the building of a church at Olon-Süne, the capital. The ruins of this church were discovered a short time ago. During the following reign, a violent reaction among the Nestorians forced him to return to Kambalik, where he built a church. The progress of Christianity continued at an astonishing rate with 4,000 baptisms in one year alone (1305).

When news of these results finally reached Rome, Clement V made Kambalik a metropolitan see. John of Monte Corvino was placed in charge of it with jurisdiction over the whole Mongol empire. He established a bishopric at Zayton. His apostolate among the various Christian families worked wonders. There were mass returns of Nestorians and Armenians to Rome. The section of the Alani people who had been deported to China by the Mongols and to whom William

of Rubruck had so longed to give spiritual help, listened so religiously to John of Monte Corvino that they returned as a body to Roman Catholicism. They numbered fifteen thousand in all. Yet the illustrious Franciscan worked almost alone. Not that the papacy had abandoned him, but the missionaries were few in number and because of the distance, the length of time and the dangers of travel, the parties that set out arrived decimated. Sometimes they disappeared altogether.

Yet Odoric of Pordenone, another great missionary, reached his destination. It is from him that we learn how venerated was John of Monte Corvino by the great khan and all his court. But their frame of mind remained like that of Mangou. They listened to the apostle with great interest but, with a few exceptions, went no further than this.

After Monte Corvino's death, the see of Kambalik was vacant for ten years. The bands of missionaries had ceased to arrive. John of Marignoli eventually came to take up the work and experienced from the khan the same kindness that had been shown to John of Monte Corvino, with every facility to visit the Christian foundations in China. This state of affairs so favourable to Catholicism was only changed when the Mongol dynasty was overthrown and replaced by that of the Ming with the Chinese nationalist reaction it brought in its train. Tolerance was replaced by the re-establishment of the official Confucian worship. Further, these Chinese Christian communities had become increasingly isolated from the West as a result of the establishment of areas under Moslem rule in central Asia.

Before they came under the yoke of Islam, the central Asian lands, extending roughly from Lake Balkhach to the Don basin, had been fairly successfully evangelized as early as the end of the twelfth century. The first to arrive, Franciscans from Hungary, had obtained from the Mongol princes an ordinance allowing them to join the hordes in small groups. They moved about, dressed as Tartars, placing their portable altars on carts similar to those of their hosts. From evening till morning,



there were opportunities of teaching Christianity and bearing witness to what they taught. This continual presence brought about many conversions. The most famous of these was that of one of the khans of the Golden Horde in 1311. But this success was not to last. The elder sons of the convert were dethroned by the Islamic party which transferred power to a prince of their own persuasion.

Nevertheless, Christianity continued to progress in the East. In 1318, Saraï, hitherto dependent on Kambalik, became an episcopal see. Later it had an archbishop with jurisdiction over the khanate of the Golden Horde.

In 1333, two Dominicans, Francis of Camerino and Richard the Englishman, sent the pope news of the conversion of a prince of Alani, the governor of Vospro (Kertch) in the Crimea. John XXII made this city an archbishopric with suffragan sees in the ports of the Black Sea—Caffa, Kherson, Pera, Trebizond and Sebastopol in Abkhasia. After the Mongol governor of the Crimea had driven the Alani from Vospro, certain of these bishoprics disappeared, others lost their missionary character and the faithful under their jurisdiction were almost entirely members of the Italian colony.

The most stable of the Christian communities on the Black Sea, that of Ziquia, was the work of a local Circassian by the name of John. He had been taken to Genoa as a slave, was converted to Catholicism and returned to his native land as a Franciscan where he made many converts. In 1349, the pope appointed John of Ziquia archbishop of Matrega (Tanan), a city lying opposite Kertch. After the conversion of the Kaitat people, from the Caspian Mountains in Daghestan, Maïera, Tarki and Kumuk became episcopal sees.

Tamerlane's invasion abolished the episcopal hierarchy of these Circassian lands but did not totally destroy Christianity. It is known that there were still Franciscans and Christians of Latin rite among the Kaitats at the end of the fifteenth century.

Further east, the Franciscan missionaries had made their way as far as Almaligh, the capital of the Djagataï Khanat,

where they had founded a friary. John XXII erected a see there with Richard of Burgundy as its bishop. The khan welcomed him favourably and entrusted to him the education of his son, who was baptized and given the name John. The story of the Golden Horde was soon repeated here. After the death of the khan, who was well disposed towards Catholicism, an Islamic reaction set in, the friary was sacked, three of the friars, three lay brothers (one a native) and a Genoese merchant were martyred. Once this wave of hatred had subsided, the friary was rebuilt. But a new Islamic outburst finally obliterated the Christian community at Almaligh. In any case, it would not have survived Tamerlane.

We have still to give an account of apostolic work in the southern territories: Persia, Chaldea, Armenia, India.

Between the Mongols of Persia and the West, long-established relations existed and were improved by the fact that during the Crusades both parties had a common enemy in the sultan of Egypt. Although no military alliance had been concluded between the Crusaders and the Mongol sovereigns, the latter nevertheless gave a courteous welcome to the Dominican missionaries sent to them. John XXII withdrew Sultaniah, the capital of the khanat of Persia, from the Kam-balik bishopric and erected it into an archdiocese in charge of the Dominicans. They were unable to weaken the Islamic positions. Their apostolate, with papal approval, was directed almost exclusively to the dissident Christians and they found it difficult to achieve any lasting results. The difficulties arose from the frequent disagreement between the lower clergy and the ordinary faithful on the one hand and the patriarchs on the other. The former, who were deeply attached to the idea of a national Church, had no wish to return to unity, while their spiritual leaders were often favourably disposed to such a return. In Armenia, the missionaries were very successful at first. The archbishop of Karkilisse (St Thaddeus) submitted to Rome. The Qrna monastery followed suit and superintended

the formation of the Order of the "United Brothers of St Gregory the Illuminator". The new Order showed great zeal, too much perhaps and in some respects ill-judged; in any case, a vigorous nationalist reaction became sufficiently widespread to counteract the movement towards unity.

The chief obstacle was Islam. A missionary at that time, the Florentine Ricardo of Monte Croce, suffered cruelly at its hands and in a saintly spirit deserving of mention. A fierce attack forced him to leave his place of residence at Baghdad where he had received the news that, shortly after the fall of Ptolemais, the friary at Accon had been destroyed and all the Dominicans living there massacred. He was taken prisoner, beaten, ordered to become a Saracen and on his refusal divested of the habit of his Order. He was given a camel driver's clothes and made to work at this trade. One of his letters (quoted in the *Revue Biblique*, 1893, II, p. 589) reveals the serene way in which he accepted his lot:

Embarrassed by my strange garb, I began to lead my camel by the chain and suddenly from a neglectful friar preacher as I had hitherto been, I became a vigilant camel driver. Overcome with joy, I burst into tears and cried: "O Lord, I have been told that Mahomet was a camel driver. Have you decided to make me destroy him by wearing the same costume as he did? In any case, for your sake I do not refuse to fight in any sort of dress."

The first Latin missions in India were the outcome of an outburst of Moslem fanaticism. Missionaries on their way to China had continued for some years to follow the route taken by John of Monte Corvino. They set out from Ormuz for the west coast of India. They went by coasting vessel from port to port as far as Quilon on the Malabar coast and from this point were taken to their destination by felucca. The Malabar coast therefore was originally no more than a series of stages on the way. But on one such occasion, a party under the direction of the Franciscan Thomas of Tolentino was stopped at Thana near Bombay and there found itself violently attacked by Moslems. Four Franciscans were martyred (1320). A

Dominican in the same party, Jourdain Cathala de Séverac, had meanwhile decided not to continue on his way to China but to devote himself to the evangelization of the Nestorians scattered throughout the towns of India. The first Latin mission to India was born. In the north, he found Islam firmly entrenched and his efforts remained fruitless. He was more fortunate with the southern Nestorians and succeeded in detaching a good number of them from the form of Christianity which they were practising, distorted as it was and tainted on occasion by idolatry. It was for these reconciled Christians that the papacy established a see at Quilon. Séverac was appointed its bishop. This bishopric was still in a flourishing state when Marignolli, the pope's legate, visited it in 1360.

For a better appreciation of the quality of the missionaries in Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we need only look at some of the distances on the map. From Rome to Vospro and Matrega, the two metropolitan sees on the Black Sea and stages of considerable importance for the missionaries, the distance as the crow flies is some 1,250 miles, from Vospro to Almaligh, the Djabataï bishopric, 2,250 miles, and from Almaligh to Kambalik 1,875 miles. To the south between Sultaniah and Samarkand the distance is 1,125 miles and 2,500 between Sultaniah and Quilon.

There could not have been more than a few hundred missionaries at the most to evangelize these immense areas. Communications between them were irregular except in the dioceses bordering on the Black and Caspian Seas, the only regions in which dioceses formed any sort of group. Everywhere else, there was almost complete isolation. The problem of the arrival of reinforcements became increasingly complicated the further east one went. The journey to China took some three years. If all went well, half of those who had set out arrived at their destination, the others died on the way.

Yet this handful of isolated Christians and venturers for whom outbreaks of Islamic fanaticism, epidemics, want, even famine, were constant hazards, succeeded in founding and

maintaining active Christian communities for almost a century and a half. For a long period they enjoyed the toleration of the Mongols. When Islam gained ground, they fought courageously and, as we have seen, took advantage of any opportunity that occurred to rebuild a church that had been destroyed, a friary that had been burned down, and accepted their trials like Ricardo of Monte Croce, in a spirit of genuine sanctity.

Tamerlane's invasions (1336-1405) were the final blow. The Tartar conqueror cut them off from all relations with the West, once he had established his mastery over the heart of Asia. The missions disappeared. The first Mongol empire had made the spread of Christianity possible in central Asia, the second wiped it out.



P A R T I I

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE  
NEW WORLD TO GREGORY XVI





## CHAPTER VII

# BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA

### *THE PARTITION OF THE NEW COUNTRIES AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE PATRONATO*

At the end of the fifteenth century, the discovery of America and the East Indies proved that the Scholastic Doctors of the Middle Ages, Alexander of Hales, St Thomas Aquinas and St Albert the Great, had spoken rashly when they declared there was no place in the world in which echoes of the Gospel, if not the preaching of missionaries, had not been heard. It was not merely a few savages lost in the heart of the forest who were ignorant of Revelation but a great number of nations scattered over immense areas.

The Bulls of Alexander VI divided these among the States who had discovered them, that is, Spain and Portugal. The Bull of 1493 placed the dividing line 100 miles west of the Azores and gave Spain all the territories to the west of it and Portugal all those to the east. In the following year, the Treaty of Tordesillas moved this line 370 miles further west so as to give Brazil, discovered by Cabral, to Portugal. This division was not contested in the West. In the East, on the contrary,

while Lisbon claimed the right to draw the line from the western end of Japan as far as New Guinea, Spain moved it a considerable distance to the west so as to include in her share the Philippines, Indo-China and almost all the Sunda islands. Serious conflicts between missionaries from these two countries arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of this disagreement.

The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies were given these territories on condition that they spread the Faith in them, sent out missionaries and built churches. They undertook this spiritual mission with undeniable fervour, but it earned them special powers and privileges which were defined in the Bull *Universalis Ecclesiae* (1598). These were known as the Patronato, *Padroado* in Lisbon, *Padrao* in Madrid. In practice, the pope made over to the kings the government of and the responsibility for the Church in the Indies. When the Holy See later claimed its inalienable right to direct the apostolate *ad infideles*, difficulties arose, as we shall see.

### *THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE MISSIONS IN AMERICA, THE PHILIPPINES AND THE CONGO*

The Spaniards first landed in the West Indies and the missionaries came immediately after the discoverers. After a few fruitless efforts on the part of the Franciscans at Haiti and St Domingo, a new Franciscan party, seventeen in all, arrived in 1502. In 1505, the Franciscan mission to the West Indies was raised to the status of a province.

The Dominicans sent their first mission in 1510. From 1511 onwards, the hierarchy was established in the West Indies and numbered three sees. The bishop of St Domingo was a Franciscan, the bishop of Concepcion de la Vega, a Dominican, and shortly after a secular was appointed to Puerto Rico. In 1513, a Franciscan was appointed to Panama and was the first bishop on the mainland. The moving spirit behind this magnificent beginning was Ximenes de Cisneros (1436-1517).

Such speedy work shows that Spain intended to combine spiritual with military conquest. Once Mexico had been conquered (1521), Cortes asked Charles V for sufficient men to begin a rapid and well-organized apostolate. In 1523, the first group of Franciscans landed under Peter of Ghent. This illegitimate son of a Habsburg, at a time when a fine future awaited those with the bar sinister, preferred the Lady Poverty to honours, imitated the holy founder of his Order by refusing the priesthood and devoted himself entirely to the conversion of the Indians. In 1524, the famous mission of the "Twelve Apostles" arrived. They were Franciscans. The first Dominicans landed in 1526 and the Augustinians in 1533. These three Orders were to be responsible for almost all of the work of evangelizing Mexico until the Jesuits landed in 1572.

The first Franciscan missions were to achieve distinction through one of their friars, Bernard de Sahagun, who was both an apostle and a man of learning. With the aid of a group of native scholars whose language he had learned and to whom he had taught his own as well as Latin, he conducted a monumental inquiry into the religions, customs, laws, fauna and flora of Mexico, on lines exactly similar to those of modern ethnology. It was published after his death with the title *Historia general de las cosas de Nueve España*. The missionaries did not wait for its publication but agreed to adopt the system of "the clean sweep", that is, they did not try to discover whether the religion of the natives might contain elements of truth. So lively was their horror of the human sacrifices practised in this religion that they insisted on their converts abandoning it entirely. In any case, Sahagun's work had led him to the same conclusions by the time he had completed it, and the reason why he had devoted so much care in bringing it to completion was that he might instruct his brethren and put them on their guard against any attempt at syncretism.

All said and done, these pioneers were a mere handful scattered over an immense area. Yet they made numerous converts, using methods that may seem obvious enough today,

but the credit of initiating them at the time must go to the pioneers alone. They turned their attention first to the children so as to make apostles of them, small centres of shining faith and purity who were to radiate the light in their own homes. We know from Toribio de Motolinia's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* that some of them even suffered martyrdom for their witness to their faith.

In the main, however, the natives of Mexico, apart from a few members of the old aristocracy, accepted the Spanish conquerors so passively that the missionaries interpreted what was doubtless merely a mask adopted from fear, distrust or even hostility, as a fundamental lack of maturity from both the political and spiritual standpoints. Some of the missionaries eventually wondered whether they were not in fact dealing with beings without the gift of reason.

It was common practice to administer only the sacraments of baptism, penance and matrimony. The missionaries also admitted a fairly large number of their converts to confirmation but were more cautious regarding extreme unction. Doubts arose, and these at times caused acute distress of mind, as to the Eucharist and the priesthood. There was no general rule for the first which was administered rarely in some places and more frequently in others. In regard to Orders, Indians were not allowed to receive them. This prohibition did not come into force at once, but only after a very interesting experiment had been tried.

The Franciscans, supported by the viceroy, D. Antonio de Mondoza, attempted from the beginning to recruit a native clergy. At the suggestion of Juan de Zumarraga, the bishop of Mexico, they founded the college of Tlaltelolco in a suburb of the capital. They were successful to the extent that their pupils were usually well gifted, and spoke Latin and Castilian. It was from among their number that Sahagun chose the collaborators he needed for his inquiry. But the seminary soon caused serious anxiety to its founders, who discovered that it was difficult to detach their pupils, even the best of them, from

the atmosphere of paganism and sensuality in which they had been born and brought up.

The opposite environment could hardly come into existence except in families which had been Christian for a long period and at the time when the representatives of the second or better still the third generation reached adult age. But the most determined advocates of a native clergy met with very strong opposition when the experiment had only just begun. And it came from the colonists and some of the Dominicans. They instanced the scandal caused by a former pupil who apostatized and became a preacher of apostasy. According to them, Tlaltelolco ran the risk of becoming a hot-bed of heresy. Zumarraga was discouraged, and wrote in 1545 to Charles V: "... as for the college of Santiago, we do not know how long it can last, since the Indian students, the best scholars, *tendunt ad nuptias potiusquam ad continentiam*". It disappeared without producing one priest of Mexican blood. There was no subsequent rescinding of the decision to deny the priesthood to natives. The responsibility for the missions rested entirely on regulars and seculars, all Europeans, whose chief aim was to keep the converts under their protection in Christian villages away from their natural environment as well as from the bad example given by some of the Spaniards.

In South America apostolic work began a little later than in Mexico and developed at the same speed and by means of similar methods.

The Order of St Dominic was the first to arrive in Peru in 1531. As early as 1544, the Peruvian province of the Friars Preachers numbered fifty-five religious, stationed almost exclusively in various parts of the former Inca empire.

The Franciscans arrived in 1540 and founded three houses at Quito, Cuzco and Lima. They quickly spread further south to Potosi, La Paz, Tucuman and even to the River Plate, the region that was the scene of the amazing apostolate of a missionary who was also a musician, Francis of Solano.

The Augustinians established monasteries in Peru in 1551 and played a considerable part in the evangelization of the immense area extending from Popayan (Colombia) to Potosi (Bolivia). The Mercedarians, based also on Peru, advanced as far as the Argentine. Finally, the Jesuits, who landed in Peru in about the year 1568, shortly afterwards founded the provinces of Quito, New Granada, Paraguay and Chile.

Lima became the metropolitan see for all this territory. After 1575 its jurisdiction extended from Central America to South America (Brazil excluded, since it was a dependency of the Portuguese *patronato*). There were ten dioceses: Cuzco, Quito, Panama, Nicaragua, Popayan, Paraguay, Tucuman, Charcas or La Plata, Santiago de Chile and La Imperial (Chile).

The first Council met at Lima in 1552. Another in 1567 was concerned with securing for the Indians *doctrina*, that is the teaching of the catechism, public worship and the administration of the sacraments. It obliged parish priests to learn the language of the country and laid down penalties for those who refused to do so. It forbade confession through an interpreter. And the Crown ordered the establishment of chairs of *quichua*, the common language. Ten years after their arrival the Jesuits had already organized a system of language teaching, and there is the frequently quoted case of the illustrious bishop of Lima, Toribio of Mogrovejo, a great missionary of the period, who was able to address the Incas in their own official language.

To provide uniform catechetical teaching, the Council of 1583 arranged for the translation into the two principal languages of a catechism it had drawn up which comprised three stages: a simplified course, a course for the majority of children and adults, and a higher course for an *élite*. The Council also decided that there should be one priest for the *doctrinas* of from one to two thousand souls, and two for the *doctrinas* of more than two thousand. Villages of less than a thousand inhabitants were to be grouped. It is obvious that the *doctrineros*, the priests, had a heavy task. It was therefore arranged that they should be given lay auxiliaries chosen from

among the Indians, the best of whom might become catechists. Two stewards were to be the custodians of the church and the sacred vessels and to keep the parish accounts. Finally, supervisors were to be given the duty of notifying the *doctrineros* of births and cases of sickness, so that the sacraments could be administered. They were also to report the drunkards and sorcerers and to keep order at Mass and during catechism sessions. In South America as in Mexico, the apostolate quickly moved towards a system which was already a precursor of the Reductions.

We observe the same similarity in regard to admission to the sacraments. Great caution was shown in allowing converts to approach the altar rails. Subsequently, this attitude became less strict but frequent communion was never the rule. The Council decided to refuse the priesthood to the Indians on the ground that they were unable to acquire a full understanding of the mysteries of the faith.

This vast programme did not remain a dead-letter. It came to life. The vigorous faith of large numbers of officials gave it inspiration and warmth. Many religious and seculars came out from Spain and, on the whole, accomplished their mission without failing in their duty. Before passing a severe judgement on them, as has been done, we ought to consider the difficulties they had to face.

In the first place, strict honesty obliges us not to view them in isolation from their times. The sixteenth century was in almost complete ignorance of civilizations other than that of Europe. The latter, so it believed, enjoyed an unquestionable superiority since it had sprung from Christianity and appeared to be the necessary means of propagating it.

Several centuries elapsed before it was admitted that Christ's teaching could flourish as completely in the new as in the old world and, during these centuries, natives who had received baptism were not always able to remain faithful to those of their customs which were not incompatible with Christianity. Moreover, how could the missionaries at the period following

the discovery of this new world have solved these difficult problems? If some national custom were to be deserving of toleration without any qualms of conscience whatsoever, they would have needed a profound knowledge of the civilizations and religions of the peoples to whom they were speaking.

There were other drawbacks, the climate, for instance, the area, the lie of the land. The dioceses were so huge and travel so difficult that pastoral rounds might last for years. The first two made by St Toribio of Mogrovejo took six and four years respectively. He died during his last one, in 1606.

The total number of religious and seculars, considerable though it is, when considered in isolation, looks paltry when we think that their ministry extended from Panama to Tucuman, a distance of more than 2,500 miles. The clergy were badly distributed. They were too numerous in the cities, whose population was composed almost solely of Spaniards, and far too few among the Indians scattered throughout the countryside and the sierras. Among the seculars, recruitment was not careful enough, and since discipline was not sufficiently strict among the Orders, rivalries weakened their apostolate.

But the chief obstacle was perhaps the régime under which the Indians were forced to live. The missionaries taught them the truths of Christianity and prepared them for baptism, but at the same time the colonists forced them to work for their benefit and used violence if they judged it necessary. Whether they were enrolled in the *repartimientos* or the *encomiendas*, Christianity in the temporal order, as far as they could see, meant loss of freedom. It is surely not surprising therefore that some converts openly stated that they did not want to go to Paradise for fear of meeting their oppressors there. Neither the campaigns undertaken by some of the missionaries, Las Casas and others, nor instructions from Rome and the kings, all of which drew attention to the fact that the natives were to be treated as free men, succeeded in making any real change in the régime forced on the natives by the colonists. The quality of the converts was bound to suffer. Paganism



might be renounced in word, but in fact it remained deep down and disguised under Christian ceremonies. It was therefore all the harder to unearth and to overcome.

Yet, as early as the sixteenth century, the Spanish missionaries had accomplished a noble apostolic work. We can accept the word of the great apostle Toribio de Mogrovejo when he says that he confirmed 500,000 people during his second pastoral round. The Church established in the new world was not merely a brilliant façade. The cathedrals, the more modest buildings, the numerous monasteries that they built, prove that the Spaniards wished to accomplish a work which would last.

In the Malayan archipelago of the Philippines, the Spanish had an outstanding success. Madrid questioned whether the literal interpretation of the treaty of Tordesillas (1493) brought the archipelago within the Portuguese domains, as Lisbon claimed. Since the Spice Islands had been assigned to Portugal, Spain laid claim to the Philippines and Spaniards landed there, unsuccessfully in 1542, and again in 1564, this time for good. They had come from Mexico, the terminus for Pacific trade of the galleons sailing from Asia and of the Indian Ocean and Cape route which depended on the Portuguese monopoly. A small band of Augustinians had gone with the expedition. Reinforcements reached the pioneers; Franciscans (1577), Jesuits (1581), and Dominicans were soon on the scene. Forty years later, the archipelago was Christian. Since there were no mines there, European colonists had not come. The Filipinos were able to maintain their agricultural and patriarchal economy and their status was not unlike that found in the Reductions.

The missionaries had no difficulty in winning them over from a religion which was no more than a rudimentary animism without any common practices or places of worship. In 1585, there were already 400,000 converts. There were two million in 1620 and the clergy who ministered to them, at least in the rural parishes, were Filipinos.

Catholicism was introduced into Brazil in the middle of the sixteenth century by the Jesuits with the help of the Portuguese Crown.

The first group landed at Bahia in 1549. It numbered six religious in all. In the same year, this handful of missionaries, under the direction, it is true, of a very great apostle, Fr de Nobrega, visited the areas around the old capital of Brazil and laid the foundations of a teaching system of which the first results were the confraternity and the college of *Meninos de Jesus*. Fr de Nobrega gathered there some young Indians together with orphans he had arranged to be sent out from Portugal. He hoped that as they studied their religion and their rudiments side by side, genuine friendship would spring up between them, and that the orphans would at the same time learn the Brazilian language and the little Indians Portuguese. The latter would then return home to their villages and spread the Good News. We cannot but admire such a bold project which was to prepare for the fusion of the races at the moral level within the framework of Christianity. But difficulties that arose in the application of the programme, due doubtless to insufficient knowledge of the character of the Indians, caused the confraternity scheme to be abandoned. Only the Jesus College survived. Its teaching began with reading and advanced as far as theology. It served as a seminary for the secular clergy, both Portuguese and Creole, and also as a house for the formation of the young religious of the Society.

The missionaries rapidly brought Christianity to the areas north and south of Bahia, to the south, as far as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, two cities founded by the Jesuits (and in particular by Fr de Nobrega) and to the north, as far as Pernambuco (Recife). Faced with a religion without external worship or a priesthood and with a political system without written laws or a hereditary authority, the Jesuits adopted the "clean sweep" method. The Indians were easily won over from their practices but their easy-going nature drew them back equally quickly if ever the careful watch on them was relaxed.

In order to instruct them and stiffen their characters, it was necessary to group them in Christian villages. But the Indians soon wanted their spiritual leaders to be their temporal leaders also, in recognition of the protection they were giving them. The General of the Jesuits considered it his duty to ask his religious not to follow this course but to avoid undertaking any political function. Then other difficulties arose. If the Fathers ceased to rule in the villages, the Indians would be afraid that once they were no longer under their care, they would be maltreated and so would run away to the forests and become inaccessible. Eventually things were left as they were so as not to compromise and perhaps ruin an apostolate which had been organized with so much labour.

The Fathers contrived to introduce forms of entertainment into the natives' disciplined and hardworking life. There were songs, dances, masquerades, processions, bull-fights and edifying comedies written by a Spanish Jesuit, Anchieta, "the apostle of Brazil".

The liturgy was surrounded with great pomp. Baptisms and weddings were celebrated with the splendour of feast days, and processions were on the scale of huge spectacular demonstrations to the glory of God.

The converts were admitted to all the sacraments, although Holy Communion was not given without strict preparation. The Indians were not admitted to Orders for the same reasons as in Peru but also for another which was peculiar to Brazil. The missionary zeal of the mother-country, great though it was, could not bridge the gap between its own territory and the immense size of the territories attached to the Crown. It was scarcely possible to evangelize more than the coasts and the Christian communities there were not sufficiently numerous to ensure the provision of a native clergy.

In the Congo, the missionaries who had accompanied Cao converted the king and queen. The sovereign subsequently apostatized. On the other hand, his son Alfonso was a man of

firm and active faith. In 1513, he sent an embassy to the pope to assure him of his loyalty. One of its members was his son Henry. He won great esteem in Portugal and in Rome both for his piety and intelligence and was consecrated a bishop in 1520. He returned to his country with several of his fellow countrymen who had been ordained priests in order to work there, with Alfonso's permission, for the preparation of a Congolese clergy. But the candidates who were sent to study in the mother-country did not persevere or were unable to withstand a climate so different from their own. After Alfonso's death in 1543—he had maintained his faith unshaken—the Congo mission gradually faded away. What then had happened? Portugal had neglected the African coastal territories and concentrated all its efforts on the East Indies, whose future seemed much more promising. The first nucleus of missionaries had not increased nor been renewed. In any case its members were of mediocre quality and had become insufficient for the exercise of the ministry among converts who had been too hastily baptized. Some of the religious had engaged in trade. Finally, the slave traffic brought complete discredit on Europeans and their religion.

From 1560 onwards, there were missionaries at Mozambique. They had come since the news had reached them that the Negro king wished to become a convert. The three Jesuits in the first party found the chiefs and his subjects very docile and willing to be baptized *en masse*. But during the following year, the superior was murdered and a general apostasy followed. Subsequently, the Dominicans, in spite of all their efforts, could not win the natives from a kind of syncretism which included odds and ends of Islam mixed with their own tribal animism.

In Angola, the apostolate begun in 1560 by four Jesuits resulted at the end of the sixteenth century in the rise of a Christian community of 20,000 converts in Massangano, which became an episcopal see. But this centre did not develop and in this it was like all the African foundations of the period.

*ST FRANCIS XAVIER IN INDIA AND JAPAN*

The Portuguese had gone to India with the object of wresting the monopoly in spices from Venice and the Arabs. But there, as in Brazil, they by no means forgot their duties to Catholicism as these had been defined in the Bulls.

In the initial stages, they thought only of settling in with all their own institutions. The pagodas were destroyed and the pagan customs disregarded. The system of the "clean sweep" was vigorously applied and eventually led to the use in the religious sphere of the *Compelle intrare*—the natives were made to become Portuguese. But not for long. The arrival of St Francis Xavier opened the way for a more apostolic method.

The life of this famous apostle, when purged of all its legendary accretions, recovers all its meaning and its value as an example. It is still the life of a saint, but this saint, instead of hovering in a world of marvels with no practical significance, is revealed as a forerunner of things to come.

Goa—and it was here that he landed on May 6th, 1542—was scarcely more than an annexe of Portugal, but with the added and disheartening fact that dissolute living and the love of lucre, which had grown up because of the distance from the mother-country, were scandalously flaunted. However, he was in charge of the college that had just been founded there and could not set up his headquarters elsewhere. But as soon as he was able, he escaped to the Fishery coast, where his predecessors had founded an embryo Christian community but without any genuine preparation. Xavier hastened to instruct these people, to solemnize the marriages of the adults and to organize Christian groups. This was a task that had to be done before all else and it was made difficult by the climate, the almost complete absence of his brethren and his ignorance of the language. Legend says he enjoyed gifts like those the apostles received at Pentecost, but he himself never hid the fact that he was accompanied by interpreters and that an immense amount of work remained to be done. Henceforward, we see that he no

longer shared all the positions taken up by the Portuguese. For him, indeed, there was no question of depriving the Indians of their nationality, it was Christianity that had to be solidly established.

It was in Japan that the great apostle showed the full measure of his powers. Thanks to the good offices of three Japanese he had known and baptized at Malacca, he succeeded in finding a junk which landed him together with two other Jesuits at Kagoshima in the southern part of the great island of Kyushu. It was August 15th, 1549, a date to be remembered, for he was the first missionary ever to enter Japan. He found the Japanese most interested in Western inventions but thought their political situation deplorable. The division of the land among numerous principalities perpetually at war with each other favoured a state of feudal anarchy which a purely nominal sovereign, the Mikado, living a cloistered and wretched life at Kyoto, was unable to bring to an end. St Francis Xavier considered there was no point in contacting this "do-nothing king" and decided to go to the daimyo of Yamaguchi. But for this visit he put aside the humble apparel which had hitherto ensured him a favourable reception throughout the Portuguese Orient. He had quickly learned from experience that this would not do. In Japan lack of display would only have discredited him. And so he appeared before the daimyo, clothed in silk, escorted by Portuguese merchants in similar array, and bearing rich presents. This was the right procedure, since he was allotted some land and given permission to preach. A daimyo on the east coast granted him the same facilities in his territory.

These first contacts revealed to him the existence of a numerous class of scholars, bonzes and lords, with subtle minds, full of curiosity, and formidable in argument. With people like this, it was essential to show that he too was learned and shrewd.

Xavier was now convinced that the system of the "clean sweep" would be fatal in Japan. Accompanied by Fr Cosmo de

Torres and Brother Juan Fernandez, who acted as interpreter, he began a controversy with these worthies and not without success. The important thing to remember is not so much the figure for the number of converts (there were not even a thousand in all when he left Japan in November 1551) but the experience he had acquired. It proved that if the apostolate was to be effective, especially among the upper classes, it would need to be based on a profound knowledge of the religion, laws and customs of the country.

Francis Xavier had also discovered in Japan the immense prestige enjoyed by the Chinese empire. If your religion were a good one, some of the Japanese had told him, China, a nation where wisdom flourishes, would already have adopted it. The great apostle had drawn the conclusion that the conversion of the Chinese empire to Christianity was a work of the first importance. He was about to undertake it when he died at Sanchoan, a small island in the bay of Canton, on December 3rd, 1552, not far from Macao where, twenty years later, Fr Ricci was to arrive and attempt in his turn to force the gates of China closed to Europeans since the end of the fourteenth century.

When St Francis Xavier left Japan, he was by no means certain of the success of his work. The curiosity shown by his hearers had certainly seemed a good sign. In a letter from Cochin dated January 29th, 1552, he wrote "...after the daimyo of Yamaguchi had authorized us to preach God's law, so many people came to ask us questions and to discuss things with us, that my joy and consolation were such that I think I am justified in saying that I had never experienced them to so great an extent during my whole life".

Nevertheless, this curiosity was awakened at least as much by Western science and its applications, such as ships and canons, as by religious problems. In general Christianity was received as a kind of by-product, on the ground that the religion of such clever and industrious men must inevitably be a good

one. We must bear in mind that the Japanese had adopted Buddhism for similar reasons in the seventh century.

Yet the fact remains that, in 1586, the Christian communities of Japan numbered 200,000 converts. By the end of the century, this figure had been increased by 100,000 further conversions. Such a beginning gave grounds for hope. But in 1638, Japan was to close its gates completely against Europe and Christianity for more than two centuries. We may well ask why and how this was done.

The Jesuits, the first missionaries to arrive and the only ones until 1590, had made their mark because of their knowledge and their moral qualities which contrasted sharply with the loose living found in the most recent Buddhist houses. They had all applied the method of adaptation. The visitor, Fr Valignano, had approved it. On the other hand, the "clean sweep" system prevailed in the Philippines which had passed over to the Spanish *patronato*. This variation in method was quite simply due to the difference between the level of intellectual development among the Manillans as compared with that of the Japanese. It was very desirable that this difference should be maintained; each of the two methods had proved its value in its own sphere.

A Jesuit from Manila, Fr Sanchez, on his arrival in Japan, refused to use the method in force there. This refusal filled Fr Valignano with misgivings. However he succeeded in communicating them to the General of the Jesuits and to such good effect that the latter decided to keep all the fathers in the Spanish *patronato* away from Japan. But the prohibition was only valid for the Society of Jesus. If religious from another Order succeeded in entering the country, the unity of method would be destroyed. This in fact happened, as an indirect result of political events in Japan.

Following upheavals in the country, a dictator, Hideyoshi, had seized power. He showed a tolerant attitude at first, but in 1587, in an outburst of temper for a reason unknown, he decreed the expulsion of all the Portuguese. Fr Valignano's



skill succeeded in making the decree a dead letter and preaching could continue. However, the rivalries between Portugal and Spain, which soon came to the knowledge of Hideyoshi, induced him to turn them to his own profit. He approached, or rather sent messengers to, the Manila authorities. They listened to what he had to say and, for his information, sent two missions to the dictator, one under the direction of a Dominican, the other under a Franciscan. Hideyoshi chose the Franciscans and authorized them to preach Christianity in Japan. The newcomers certainly behaved as zealous apostles, but they used the "clean sweep" method. What Fr Valignano had feared had happened; unity no longer existed.

Further, the arrival of the Spaniards led to complications of a political nature. A galleon from Manila ran aground on the coast of Tosa to the south of the Japanese archipelago. It was seized by the Japanese authorities. The pilot threatened to appeal to his sovereign for reprisals to be taken. This and other incidents changed the atmosphere of relative tolerance which had been maintained after a fashion since the edict of 1587. The edict had not been withdrawn and Hideyoshi used it to condemn to death six Franciscans accused of preaching openly against the religion of the land, together with seventeen of their converts and three Japanese Jesuit brothers. The twenty-six condemned men were put to death by crucifixion at Nagasaki on February 5th, 1597.

Ieyasu, Hideyoshi's successor, waged a still fiercer battle against Catholicism. He issued the edict of 1613 which ordered all the daimyo to expel Japanese and foreign preachers, to destroy all the churches and to force the converts to apostatize at once.

We know from the evidence of a Franciscan, Diego of St Francis, that, at the height of this persecution, some of the faithful at the risk of their lives welcomed him with "in-describable joy", and that he gave them the sacraments. After the year 1638, it was all but impossible for missionaries to enter the country even in disguise. Five Jesuits, one of them

Fr Rubin, who had been appointed visitor for Japan, did succeed in landing in August 1642. They were discovered by the spy network operating throughout the islands and put to death after suffering atrocious torture.

During the sixty or so years that had elapsed since the arrival of St Francis Xavier, no agreement had been reached on the subject of the establishment of a Japanese clergy. Fr Valignano had wanted this to be done. His colleague, Fr Cabral, remained hesitant for fear that "Japanese pride" would not accept obedience. This was also the opinion of the coadjutor bishop of Nagasaki, Don Luis de Cerqueira. He had however done work towards equipping a seminary. He wrote in 1603 to the pope: "The exclusion of the natives from the ministry of the sacraments and the care of souls would have grave disadvantages; it would lead to jealousies, mistrust, suspicions, divisions." In the event, the persecution outstripped a project which would certainly have encountered reservations at least, if not open opposition. When the gates of Japan were finally closed, the Christians remained without priests for two centuries.

### *FR RICCI AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO CHINA*

While Christianity was being expelled from Japan, a Jesuit, Fr Ricci, in 1583 began introducing it into China and used St Francis Xavier's second method with exemplary intelligence and zeal. While making no secret of the fact that he was a Catholic priest, he described himself as a scholar, a learned mathematician from the West desirous of establishing relations with his peers in the Far East. He became a good Sinologue and soon had conversations with some of the mandarins. He baptized several of them. Encouraged by their friendly support he succeeded in advancing to the interior of the empire, to Nantchag, Nankin and Peking which he entered in 1601. He was able to acquire a piece of land there with the authorization of the emperor. It still exists and is known as the Nant'ang. He published some doctrinal works in 1604. *The True Idea of the*

*Lord of Heaven*, a dialogue between a Christian and a scholar in search of truth, and in the same year, *Twenty-five Words*, a little treatise on certain of man's duties, and again in 1607, *Ten Paradoxes*, a book containing clarifications, commentaries and explanations of the moral code and the principal articles of Christian belief. At the same time he published scientific works which established his reputation for learning. The considerable development of St Francis' second method at Fr Ricci's hands together with his tact, learning and virtues attracted adherents to Catholicism who formed an *élite* who were able with his help to see that it was possible to remain Chinese when one had entered the Mystical Body. At his death in 1610, the number of his converts stood at 2,000.

Further, after examining the traditional rites such as the honours paid to ancestors and to Confucius, he was certain that these were "certainly not idolatrous and perhaps not superstitious". The manner in which he had tolerated them with an easy conscience had been the reason for his success with the upper classes. But his tolerant attitude was soon criticized by other missionaries, and later gave rise to the formidable, interminable wrangle over the rites which was to be so detrimental to the work of the apostolate.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF  
PROPAGANDA TO  
GREGORY XVI

*THE BULL INSCRUTABILI DIVINAE AND THE  
INGOLI REPORTS*

The idea of a Congregation of Propaganda seems first to have occurred to John of Vendeville, a jurist who had taken orders. In 1567, he sent his first memorandum to Rome. It urged the need to establish special seminaries for the formation of "good workers". St Francis Borgia, the General of the Jesuits, had also suggested the founding of an organization especially to deal with the missions. Hence Pius V appointed a commission composed of four cardinals (1568). Gregory XIII increased its numbers and founded many missionary seminaries and colleges. A further memorandum from Vendeville caused Clement VIII to decide that the initial commission should be developed, and it became the *Congregation for matters concerning the Catholic faith and religion* (1592). Vendeville died in the same year. The next step towards the final organization was not possible until the arrival on the scene of another zealous supporter of the missions, the Carmelite Thomas of Jesus. A book which he published in 1613 dealt with "all the works that are of use

to a religious and apostolic man". He suggested that on a given date a commission composed of eminent men should meet to study the problems raised by the apostolate to non-Christians. With its five secretaries covering the whole of the known world, it was the future Congregation in embryo. Yet it only came into existence on January 6th, 1622. It was given the name *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. The Bull *Inscrutabili divinae* of June 22nd in the same year gave it its official character. Six years later, a Bull of Urban VIII created the College of Propaganda, which was to undertake the "choice of qualified ministers who were to go to those peoples in the bondage of spiritual blindness and to shine with the brightness of an upright and well-ordered life, inflamed with an ardent zeal for souls, standing on the mountains like lamps glowing with the light of the Gospel teaching, dissolving and scattering, as far as lay in their power, the darkness of infidelity and heresy".

The new organization was fortunate to have as its first secretary a learned jurist, Mgr Ingoli. His priestly life was above reproach, and he was so insensitive to honours that he never wore the insignia of his prelacy. In addition, he was a tireless worker. It is not surprising that with a character such as this, he should have been a dyed in the wool authoritarian. He immediately inaugurated a general inquiry among the nuncios and the mission institutes and heads. It gave him more complete information concerning abuses and disorders which were already known in a broad sort of way. Missionaries were too few in number and their intellectual and moral quality was sometimes inadequate. Some engaged in trade, many did not know the native languages and showed little zeal in conferring Orders on native Christians whom they considered to be inferior beings. Divisions were rampant everywhere, regulars against seculars, Portuguese against Spaniards in the Far East, regulars against other regulars. The choice of agents by the Councils of the Indies left much to be desired and the less worthy among them often found the ecclesiastical authorities very accommodating. But the men from whom the reports

came in—and this was a good sign—expressed their wish that the newly constituted authority would speedily elaborate and impose reforms.

Mgr Ingoli laid the foundations of this reform in three reports, three documents of basic importance. In order to remedy the discord existing between missionaries and to put a stop to their trading activities, the 1625 report called for greater discrimination in the choice of subjects, advised against the intermingling of religious from different Orders or nations in the same diocese, and recommended that the bishops should preferably be chosen from among the seculars and that apostolic delegates should be appointed to supervise the missions.

The report of 1628 attacked the widespread prejudice against the natives as incapable of receiving the fullness of the priesthood. It not only recommended that they should be raised to the priesthood, but also that they should not be kept on principle in subordinate posts. As soon as it became possible, episcopal sees, whose number should be increased, ought to be entrusted to them. This was the policy of Pius XI in embryo.

Finally, the 1644 report denounced the inroads of the system of *patronato* and in particular the interference of royal officials of the Crown in the choice of bishops and the running of the missions.

These three reports, inspired by the desire of the Holy See to claim for itself as an inalienable right the spiritual direction of the missions, were to give rise to serious conflicts with the *patronato* system, especially in Asia.

### *FIRST MISSIONS SENT BY FRANCE TO CANADA, THE ORIENT AND MADAGASCAR*

A departure from the stipulations in the Bulls of Alexander VI appeared in the treaty of Vervins (1589) and made it possible for France to send her ships to the north of a line passing through the Canaries and for France's first missions to come into being in North America.

We can hardly give the name of missions to the outposts

established in Nova Scotia by a few isolated persons—one of these was Lescarbot, a layman, who was followed by two Jesuits. In any case, a Welsh adventurer arrived as early as 1613 and made havoc of these settlements before their founders had time to organize them properly.

On the other hand, Champlain, a pioneer who was convinced of "the need to propagate the faith among the infidels by bringing among them some good religious" laid the foundations of genuine missions when in 1615 he put ashore at Quebec four Recollects who, as early as the second half of June, erected a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.

Their first investigations showed them that, apart from the Hurons, who were relatively stable—some of them knew how to cultivate the soil—the peoples in these territories led completely nomadic lives. If they were to be evangelized, they had therefore to be made to settle down, to be prevented from wandering from place to place. Such a result might be achieved by giving Frenchmen, who were good agriculturists, the task of teaching them to turn the land to better account. In other words, a settlement had to be made. Champlain launched an appeal for volunteers but it was hardly heeded to begin with except by Louis Hébert. Yet surely no one was better qualified for this work than this apostle who, on his deathbed, offered his life for the conversion of the Indians. He had been driven out of Nova Scotia in 1613. He returned to the St Lawrence with his wife and children, married his daughter to a Norman, and the untold numbers of magistrates, officers, merchants and ecclesiastics who were the descendants of this marriage rightly earned for Hébert the title of "the father of believers", "the colony's Abraham".

Meanwhile, at Tadoussac and Three Rivers, the first settlements founded by the Recollects, the Indians proved superstitious, inveterate polygamists and dominated by the spirit of revenge. All this was the very antithesis of Christianity. And their language, so lacking in abstract terms, was inadequate to convey to them the attributes of the Godhead. In these

depressing circumstances the Recollects decided to call on the Jesuits for help.

The first Jesuit mission, led by Fr Charles Lalemant, landed at Quebec in 1625. Two years later, Richelieu founded the Company of the Hundred Associates, who guaranteed to send to Canada from 1628 onwards two or three hundred Frenchmen and four thousand more during the next fifteen years, all of them Catholics. In Canada, the Edict of Nantes was no longer in force. The colonial settlement Champlain and the Recollects wished to see could now be founded. But, in the summer of 1628, England had no difficulty in taking possession of a Canada entirely without means of defence. The missionaries put to sea again and only the members of the nascent Hébert tribe remained.

Since Champlain was able to prove that the capture of Quebec took place after the signing of the treaty of Suse, which had ended hostilities between England and France, a new mission, consisting entirely of Jesuits, arrived in Canada in 1632, under the direction of Fr Le Jeune. He tried to keep the children at the mission station, with the parents' consent, so as to teach them the catechism. The restraint imposed on them by a regular life seemed intolerable to these children of nature and they were soon back with their tribes. Fr Le Jeune tried the scheme again, this time with a better organization on the material side, at Notre-Dame des Anges, in a Quebec suburb. He also drew up a more liberal set of regulations. The little savages again found it too oppressive. Several of them died, one escaped. The only thing to be done was to close this embryo seminary.

Fr de Brébeuf, who had been received among the Hurons during his first stay in the country, returned to them in 1633 with two other Fathers. They went from hut to hut and undertook the task of catechizing children and adults. But the Indians' sorcerers persuaded them that the presence among them of the Fathers was the cause of bad weather, drought, epidemics and every kind of calamity. It was decided that they



should be put to death. The Fathers showed remarkable pluck by inviting their judges to a farewell banquet, as was the custom. The massacre was cancelled.

The meagre results of these first contacts were a few children at Notre-Dame des Anges, a few dying people baptized and the apostasy of all the catechumens "except one or two families who scarcely dared to hold up their heads".

The Jesuits then decided to protect the catechumens against the immense power of sorcery by isolating them in Christian villages. Sillery, the first of these, grew up four miles from Quebec. It had a fort, a chapel, houses, a hospital, and a house for the Jesuit fathers.

In fact, for some years previously, the missionary reports of Lescarbot, Frs Biard and Massé, and especially after 1632, the annual publication by the Jesuits of *Relations* with a wide circulation, had inaugurated a new attitude of mind. Canada ceased to be thought of as the counterpart of More's *Utopia*. Men with the spirit of adventure, who were good Catholics too, were now arriving to colonize and build up New France. At the same time volunteers—one might almost say crusaders—came forward to work for the conversion of the Indians. Such were Mother Marie de L'Incarnation, an Ursuline from Tours, who with two of her nuns founded a boarding-school at Quebec for the education of Indian children; Madame de la Pelterie who, with some nursing Sisters from Dieppe, started a hospital, also at Quebec; the members of the Society of Notre Dame of Montreal who, with the support of M. Olier and the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, and in a spirit of complete disinterestedness, built Ville Marie which was to become Montreal.

While this apostolic emigration was arriving in Canada, the village of Sillery was well on the way to becoming, as the *Relation* for 1656-7 pointed out, "the one matrix of Christianity in the new world". Members of various tribes, after living there and receiving instruction and baptism, returned as apostles to their native territories. So other villages modelled

on Sillery grew up: Tadoussac, Three Rivers, Sainte-Marie de la Wye.

On the other hand, the Iroquois proved hostile and unyielding. In 1642, Fr Jogues had been horribly mutilated by them when, nobly sacrificing himself for his Huron converts, he had refused to leave them when they were carried off as captives into Iroquois territory. After living among them, he no longer doubted that they planned to exterminate the Huron race. Yet, when he was asked in 1646 to found a mission in Iroquois territory, he obeyed knowing well the fate that awaited him. He wrote to a brother Jesuit: *Ibo et non redibo*, "I shall go but I shall not return." And the Iroquois put him to death on October 18th, 1649. In the years that followed, they relentlessly continued their war against the Hurons and the missions. In March 1649, they captured the villages of Saint-Ignace and Saint-Louis and martyred Frs de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. Sainte-Marie had to be abandoned. A new attack in December brought about the martyrdom of Frs Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel. What remained of the missions took refuge in Quebec. The situation was only restored in 1665 after the Carignan regiment had intervened. But the Huron people had been decimated and, as far as the Iroquois were concerned, the missionaries had completely failed.

However, the Society of Jesus did not abandon Canada, although it never recovered the enthusiasm it had shown in the middle of the seventeenth century. Only apostles of the heroic kind, who were not afraid to spend the winter in tents, were to be found during the eighteenth century in the areas to the north-west of the first mission stations. The mission to the Iroquois was undertaken again. Its results were meagre. The only mission station that was firmly established, Michilimackinac, served as a base for the attempts at extending the work to the west and south-west, and in particular for that of Frs Marquette and Jolliet, the first white men to go down the Mississippi.

Until the suppression of the Society, the Jesuits held first

place in the North American missions, although the latter received valuable help from other quarters. The Sulpicians, who were given permission to set out in 1667, catechized Indians whom the slave trade had brought to Montreal. They also founded Christian villages on the shores of Two Mountain Lake and at La Présentation, where M. Picquet became so well known. The Paris Foreign Missions took over, for a time, the running of the Quebec seminary, which was entrusted in 1732 to the priests of the seminary of the Holy Ghost. Some of the latter, including Fr Le Loutre, took part in the Nova Scotia and Ile Royale missions.

The statistics and the moral quality of the converts are indicated in the census of 1737 which shows that there were 1660 Christians in residence and a few hundred children. Their lively and very simple faith was revealed in highly emotional scenes of repentance after bouts of drunkenness, violence or lechery, and by a keen taste for great ceremonies. Some were exemplary, for instance, the Huron Chihwatenhawa, author of a prayer published in the *Relation* for 1640-1, a kind of primitive poem in which submission to God's will is expressed with overwhelming sincerity.

The zeal aroused by the Canadian missions had not turned France's attention away from the Levant to which she was drawn by the memory of the Crusades and the Capitulations régime which had made her the protectress of all the Christian subjects of Turkey, including the heretics and schismatics. The aim of the missions there was not so much the conversion of individuals as to bring back to union with Rome Christians who were under the authority of patriarchs not in obedience to the Holy See. This was the case with the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits arrived. In spite of their hostility, the Fathers succeeded in founding a school at Constantinople and so laid the first stone of the great school which in the nineteenth century was to have an almost complete educa-

tional monopoly in the Levant and in Egypt. French Capuchins established a mission post at Aleppo (1627), and the Jesuits opened a school of their own there in 1651. In the same town, the French consul, François Picquet, did useful work in the cause of the return to unity. He was a skilled diplomat and fervent missionary (he eventually took holy Orders) and he succeeded in obtaining the appointment to the archbishopric of Aleppo of a prelate subject to Rome and also, in 1663, in procuring from the Syrian Patriarch Andrew Akidjian, and from the Armenian Patriarch Kachadour, a declaration of their submission to the Holy See. Their return, however, was an entirely personal affair and gave no guarantee that their successors would be faithful to Rome.

Further East, Fr Pacifique of Provins, obtained permission from the Shah Abbas to found a mission at Baghdad and another at Isapahan. The friendly disposition of the sovereign made it possible for other Capuchins to settle at Tabriz. This small Christian community numbered twenty faithful when Mgr Pallu arrived in 1662. Another founded at Djoulfa by a Jesuit was composed of six families. In both places, the Latin missions encountered bitter opposition from the Vertabiets, or Armenian monks.

The Capuchins, who went further East, came up against the intransigence of the *Padroado*. Ephrem of Nevers, although imprisoned and later released, established at Madras a mission comprising a hospital and a school, whose excellent organization was admired by Mgr Pallu. The missions in the Orient were maintained with difficulty during the eighteenth century, but from 1850 onwards were able to receive more help from the Holy See.

The first sons of St Vincent de Paul to be attracted to the foreign missions devoted themselves to the welfare of the slaves in the convict prisons of North Africa. Two Vincentians arrived in Tunis in 1645 and two years later, a third, Jean Le Vacher. Other priests and lay-brothers came to Algiers. A

benefactress, the Duchess of Aiguillon, a niece of Richelieu's, bought the right to nominate the French consul in these two cities and so the Vincentians were able, at various times, to exercise interim consular functions, which made it possible for them to bring spiritual help to the slaves. But whether as consuls or as missionaries, they were always badly treated by the Turkish authorities. Jean Le Vacher was martyred in 1683 by being tied to the mouth of a canon.

The Congregation of Propaganda also entrusted the Vincenians with the evangelization of Madagascar, which proved a terrible ordeal for them. Charles Nacquart and Nicolas Gondrée, who set out in 1648, both died as a result of the climate a few months after their arrival at Fort Dauphin. A new team made up of MM. Mousnier, Bourdaise and Forest suffered the same fate between 1655 and 1657. The Catholic community around the mission, in all twenty-three French and twelve native families, remained without spiritual aid. A third party composed of three missionaries was wiped out in the same way. Yet M. Vincent's successor did not want to abandon the island of death. He sent three expeditions—a total of eleven priests and seven brothers. In 1674, when the missionary staff had been reduced to half its strength, the colonists decided to abandon Fort Dauphin and the island itself and to repatriate the survivors.

### *FR DE NOBILI AT MADURA*

In India, the caste system kept individuals enclosed in what we may call social prisons. To leave them was to become an "outcaste", to be dead as far as civil society was concerned. This system seemed incomprehensible to the Portuguese and so contrary to Christianity that they took no account of it in their relations with the native population. They had therefore invited all men to become Catholics, but because of an insufficient acquaintance with the language they couched their invitation in unsuitable terms. The question: "Do you want to be a Christian?" became "Do you want to joint the Prangui

cast?" But *Prangui* was a word of contempt applied by the Moslems to all Christians since the time of the Crusades.

This procedure might perhaps form Christian communities (though of doubtful quality) in the few areas where Portuguese rule was effectively exercised. Beyond these, that is in almost the whole of India, the caste system continued in all its rigour. Christians, who to all intents and purposes became Portuguese, were despised and looked on as renegades, and the missionaries ensured their own fall into disrepute by entering into contact with all the castes in a society in which the mere fact of accepting a drop of water from a member of an inferior caste was considered to involve grave impurity.

This had been the state of affairs at Madura previous to the arrival of an Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili. In 1607 he wrote to one of his relatives: "In spite of twelve years of work, our Fathers have not been able to make a single convert. At the most, they have baptized in *articulo mortis* three or four sick people." He took careful note of this failure but did not give way to despair. He was looking for a different method of approach. It seemed to him that the secrets of Hinduism could only be penetrated from within. As he was descended from an illustrious Tuscan family, he protested that he was neither a Prangui nor a Portuguese. He introduced himself as a "Roman rajah" and so was able to put himself on the same level as the Sannyassi, upper class penitents who were respected by everyone. He built a church and presbytery on a site granted to him by a cousin of the king of Madura. All his servants were Brahmins, and he lived and dressed like the Sannyassi. A Brahmin had taught him Sanskrit and he was thus able to discover the secrets of Hinduism. Hence his expository work and his controversies with the distinguished visitors admitted to his company could, for the greater good of Christianity, be orientated towards the spiritual needs common to the faithful of both religions. At the same time, he had become convinced that the caste customs were not all to be condemned. Certain of these, whose character was purely civil and social,

might be tolerated. But some of his brethren were of the contrary opinion and they denounced him to Rome as causing scandal. This was the greatest trial of his life. A Bull of Gregory XV (1623) put an end to it by authorizing the Brahmins and other "Gentiles" to wear cordons and koudounis, the caste insignia, on condition that they were handed to them by a Catholic priest who would bless them by reciting prayers approved by the ordinary of the district.

The new method of adaptation thus allowed Indians to enter the Mystical Body without renouncing all their titles and traditions, in a word without incurring the shameful name of renegade. Nevertheless, Gregory XV's decision was to give rise later to very serious controversy.

### *FR DE RHODES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VICARS APOSTOLIC IN THE FAR EAST*

At the same time, Fr Alexander de Rhodes, also a Jesuit, born at Avignon in 1591, was conducting in Vietnam an experiment of great interest and whose results were to have considerable influence on the missions in the Far East.

One of a party sent to Cochin-China in 1623, he showed that he was able to adapt himself with amazing facility. He laid the foundations of Quoc-Ngu, a transcription of the Annamite characters into the Latin alphabet which generations of missionaries were to use. But in 1626, he was withdrawn from Cochin-China, apparently because of his excessive petulance in the face of the thousand and one difficulties put in the way of the Christians by the sovereign.

In the following year, he was sent to Tonkin. There he found out how popular was a certain piece of buffoonery which represented a Portuguese European with an enormous paunch, into which there entered and then re-emerged a tiny Vietnamese who had become Portuguese in the process. This parody of baptism, reduced to the status of a conjuring trick in which the Vietnamese was transformed into a Portuguese, showed well enough the need for the apostolate to be given a new form.

Fr de Rhodes took care to make sure of the good will of the *chua* by initiating him into the secret of the chiming clock and offering him a treatise on mathematics, and so was able to open a church at Hanoi and to preach there as frequently as six times a day. He appealed to the upper classes, in the hope that they would set an example to the others. His enormous success caused his downfall. The concubines or second wives, fearing that their convert husbands would repudiate them, spread calumnies about him and accused him of complicity with the rebels. They enlisted the help of sorcerers and witches and so succeeded in having him expelled. But 6,700 persons had been baptized before he left.

At Macao, whither he had returned, his provincial kept him more or less in disgrace. This provincial died in 1640 and his successor sent Fr de Rhodes to Cochin-China where the events in Tonkin were enacted all over again. He was opposed, and for the same reason, by the king's wives, the eunuchs and some of the courtiers. Although he was under sentence of expulsion, he succeeded on several occasions in returning among his converts. Then a new edict was issued banishing him under pain of death and he had to tear himself away from them.

As his superiors were preparing to send a procurator for the Macao mission to Rome, their choice fell on him. Who, indeed, was better qualified to explain the situation in the Far East than this missionary with twenty years' experience to his credit, and successes in the apostolate on a par with those of St Francis Xavier?

In his first report, Fr de Rhodes estimated the number of converts in Cochin-China and Tonkin at 300,000, and anticipated a regular flow of 15,000 conversions a year. To minister to these Christian communities at least three or even four hundred priests were needed. Where were they to be found? And supposing they were found, what a persecution would have to be expected with such an influx of foreigners! The example of Japan before him, Fr de Rhodes wrote pathetically: "What would we not give to have many native priests in Japan



today! But because, when times were in our favour, the necessary priests were not ordained, this Church is now in great distress!" Priests therefore would be recruited in Vietnam from the ranks of the catechists, and to ordain them, it would be advisable to send out without delay bishops appointed *in partibus infidelium* so as not to cause any misgivings to the *patronato*.

The Congregation of Propaganda showed great interest in this report. Nevertheless, Innocent X asked for further information, including even a list of candidates for the episcopal duties envisaged. Fr de Rhodes sent in a second report. A year later, on August 1st, 1651, the Congregation suggested to the pope that a patriarch, two or three archbishops and twelve bishops should be sent out, all of them *in partibus infidelium*. Innocent X hesitated because of the conflict then raging in Idalkan between the Holy See and Portugal. As Portugal was keeping this kingdom without missionaries, the Holy See had sent out a Goanese priest, Matthew de Castro, a brilliant pupil of the College of Propaganda in Rome, with the title and powers of a vicar apostolic. The ecclesiastical authorities in Goa treated him as an intruder, declared that his papers were forged and refused to recognize him as an envoy of the Holy See.

If Lisbon had gone as far as this in its resistance to one single vicar apostolic, what would it not do if there were twelve bishops all chosen directly by the Holy See? Yet Fr de Rhodes forwarded a petition—it is the third document in his dossier and follows the two reports—in which he noted the fact that the Christian community of Tonkin had already given seven martyrs to the Church and that there were within it candidates for the priesthood, with all the necessary qualities. He asked that Tonkin should be given permission to have a native clergy. This petition was not granted. But he himself was appointed prefect of the Annam mission. All that remained for him to do was to recruit the missionaries he needed from those depending on Rome alone. But where was he to find them? Not in Portugal. The Idalkan affair made this obvious. Not in Spain;

Madrid would be as unwilling as Lisbon to forgo its *patronato* rights. Not in Italy, then under Spanish tutelage. And Protestantism was dominant in the greater part of Germany. In these circumstances he left for France.

He reached Paris towards the end of the summer of 1652. The Society opened many doors for him, including that of the Court. His skill, his ardour, the brilliant way in which he expressed his ideas, did the rest before an audience which, during the ten preceding years, had given so many proofs of its zeal for the Missions in Canada and in the East, and which also was only too eager to show that, in the realm of the apostolate, France could compare with the two ancient Catholic monarchies.

"Les Bons Amis", one of the groups which had its place in the religious history of the seventeenth century in France, was composed of the most zealous members of the great confraternities of the Blessed Virgin founded by the Jesuits. It was in this choicest of choice societies that Fr de Rhodes found more recruits than he needed for the Far-Eastern missions. He picked three men: François de Montigny-Laval, François Pallu and Bernard Piques. The Company of the Blessed Sacrament guaranteed the necessary financial help. In 1653, five bishops assured Innocent X that there were in Paris "able secular priests, of proved moral character and remarkable for their zeal, prudence and learning" for the Far-Eastern missions. The Assembly of the clergy, in its turn, took up the cause but without producing the slightest effect. In the meantime, Fr de Rhodes, on orders from his superiors, had been sent to Persia where he died in 1660.

The reason for the setting aside of this great missionary must have been the anxiety his schemes awakened in the Portuguese *patronato*. It would be wrong to conclude that his reports on the Far East were filed and their suggestions rejected. The truth is that the Holy See was waiting for the right time to deal with them.

In any case, Fr de Rhodes's recruits did not abandon the

project. Five of them set out for Rome, Pallu among them. They went on foot begging their food on the way. When they were taken into the presence of Alexander VII, they reminded him with so much fervour of their plan to "leave fatherland, relatives and friends and to offer themselves and all they possessed for the salvation of the peoples of the Far East", that he appointed a commission of four cardinals to re-examine the reports. One of them, Barberini, was against the scheme, and he held the key position. As Pallu had failed to get a hearing, he asked for the help of one of his friends, a former advocate at the Normandy Court of Excise, Pierre Lambert de la Motte. He too was full of zeal for the missions and had left the legal fraternity to take holy Orders. His tenacity and his powerful gift of argument removed the last objections of the formidable Barberini. The commission pronounced itself in favour of sending out three vicars apostolic. On May 13th, 1658, the Congregation of Propaganda put forward the names of Fathers Pallu and Lambert de la Motte. A brief dated July 29th appointed them, one as bishop of Heliopolis, the other as bishop of Beryta. The former was given jurisdiction over Tonkin, the latter over Cochin-China. A little later, a third Frenchman was appointed to the vicariate of Nankin, Ignace Cotelendi. Each of them also was made responsible for the administration of provinces in China. In fact, several of these provinces became vicariates.

Certain habits contrary to the evangelical spirit were severely condemned in the celebrated instructions drawn up in 1659 for the use of the new vicars apostolic, who were recommended not to interfere in national politics either directly or indirectly. In cases where they were absolutely obliged to give an opinion, they were to do so *sub specie aeternitatis*. They had to preach obedience to princes even to those of a religion opposed to Christianity. They were not to censure their conduct, but to wait patiently until Providence "brings happier days". They were not to urge peoples to change their manners, customs and rites, but on the contrary to respect them except when

"they were detestable". For "it is as it were inscribed in the nature of men that they should esteem, love and value above all else in the world the traditions of their country and this country itself". Further, the missions were to be organized in such a way that they should not be a charge on the faithful, for "there is nothing people admire more than perfect detachment and that evangelical poverty which lays up treasure only in heaven".

At the same time, Pallu, Lambert de la Motte and their friends founded at Paris in the rue du Bac, the Seminary for the Foreign Missions. (It is still there today.)

### *THE CHINA MISSIONS AFTER FR RICCI*

Two important events took place in China after the death of Fr Ricci.

One, which seemed encouraging for the future of Christianity, had been the admission of the Jesuit scientists to the Pekin astronomical committee. Fr Adam Schall had been its president and had then been expelled, but a little later Fr Verbiest was given the office and Jesuit scientists<sup>1</sup> were, for a time at least, to be the bulwark of the missions because of the prestige they enjoyed under the emperors of two successive dynasties, the Ming and the Manchu.

The other event did more harm than good. In 1631 two missionaries arrived from Manila. One was a Franciscan, Fr Antonio a Santa Maria, the other, Fr Morales, a Dominican. They came from an area in which the "clean sweep" method was in force and so were *a priori* full of distrust for the method of adaptation adopted by Fr Ricci. They were present at a ceremony in memory of the ancestors after which they no longer doubted that the advocates of tolerance towards the Chinese rites were following a dangerous course.

Subsequently the members of both schools of thought were

<sup>1</sup> French Jesuit mathematicians were also authorized in 1687 to come into residence at Pekin and to be members of the astronomical committee.

all imprisoned together at Canton. Thus an unexpected opportunity arose for a comparison and discussion of their points of view. Ultimately, they agreed on twenty-four articles which they all signed. It is to be noted that the signatories included the Dominican Navarette. It is true that there was a proviso. The articles were to be approved by the Jesuit general's Visitor at Macao. The latter, although he had never entered China, nevertheless changed several of the articles entirely on his own initiative. In these circumstances, Fr Navarette considered he was no longer bound by his own signature. He succeeded in getting away from Canton and reached Macao where he embarked for Europe. When the ship stopped at Madagascar, he met Mgr Pallu who was on his way to China, and gave him a full account of all the facts. Then, on his arrival in Europe, he began publishing in 1676 his *Tradados historicos, politicos, ethnicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*. This work, condemning the methods of the Jesuits, was to supply all their enemies with arguments.

Meanwhile, Mgr Pallu had reached Fokien, and the Christian community of Moyang, where he found himself up against serious difficulties. Certain of the latter arose from the oath of obedience to the vicars apostolic which Propaganda wished to make obligatory on all the missionaries. The Portuguese *patronato*, which had been informed of the situation by its missionaries, had protested so vigorously (Louis XIV had done likewise regarding the Jesuit scientists of the Cambodia mission) against this demand that the Holy See had eventually withdrawn it. Other conflicts had arisen over the division of the provinces of China between the old dioceses of the *patronato* and the vicariates apostolic. From the first, Portugal had questioned the legality of these vicariates. However, an agreement was reached in 1696. The three Portuguese dioceses of Peking, Nankin and Macao were left with all their privileges but, apart from the area they covered, the Holy See reserved the right to maintain the vicariates already in existence:

Fukien, Shensi, Kiangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, and to establish others under its authority alone.

There was still the problem of the rites. Mgr Pallu had not alluded to it in his last report to the Holy See. He had merely noted that the Chinese Christians he had seen had been delighted when they learned that Rome was sending bishops to China "to lead them in the ways of the Lord and to raise some of their fellow countrymen to the dignity of the priesthood".

Shortly afterwards in 1614 sickness brought Mgr Pallu's life to an end. His successor, who had been his vicar general, Mgr Maigrot, a good sinologue, examined at length the respective attitudes of the two parties and then adopted the opinion of the Dominicans and Franciscans. In a pastoral letter written in 1693, he strictly forbade the rites and refused to recognize the meaning which certain Jesuits had given them. It is important to note that the Society was not composed entirely of Fr Ricci's followers. An able sinologue, the leading expert in the antiquities of China, Fr de Visdelou, approved of Mgr Maigrot's decision, while on the other hand, Fr Le Comte went even further than Fr Ricci. According to him, the rites were not only free from all idolatry, but from all superstition. Fr Ricci would not have agreed that this was so.

The condemnation of Fr Le Comte's book by the Sorbonne aggravated the quarrel between the advocates and the opponents of the rites. The lampoons of the Dominicans and the priests of the Foreign Missions were answered by those of the Jesuits. There were a dozen of these in the year 1700 alone. The Holy See instructed Mgr Maillard de Tournon to conduct an inquiry on the spot. He decided to defend the Dominican view and to condemn the rites. He had to face both Portugal, which considered him an intruder in *patronato* territory, and also the hostility of the Chinese government since he had refused to accept the opinion of Kang'Hi who had given an assurance that the rites were of a merely civil nature. He was imprisoned at Macao where he died in 1710. A second legate, Mgr Mezzabarba, although of a more accommodating tempera-

ment, did not put an end to the quarrel. On the contrary, the concessions he judged should be made only aggravated the trouble. The advocates of the rites considered them inadequate, while their opponents were of opinion that he had sinned by showing weakness. These opponents, in any case, eventually won the day, and the Bull *Ex quo singulari* (1742) issued a definitive and complete condemnation of the rites.

During the quarrel, the emperor Kang'Hi had discovered the papal authority, but since he had not understood its entirely spiritual character, the Christians in his empire appeared to him to be subjects who were evading his authority in order to obey a foreign master. His attitude towards them altered. He demanded that the missionaries should apply for the *P'iao* (authorization to preach) if they wished to reside in China. And this permission was only to be granted in return for a promise that Fr Ricci's teaching would be followed. The missionaries who did not possess the *P'iao*—and these were the great majority since, even among the Jesuits themselves, many did not accept Fr Ricci's views on what could be tolerated—were obliged to go underground.

Throughout this vast empire they became hunted and exhausted men. The Christians were small in number, a bare 150,000 and all of humble rank: shopkeepers, ploughmen, fishermen, artisans, scattered far and wide. They could not be grouped into villages for fear of attracting attention. The missionary was always on the road from one hiding place to another and, however zealous, could only visit his flock on rare occasions, and when he arrived among them, what troubles awaited him! One of these missionaries, Blessed John Moye, wrote: "The poor man needs to be not in two but in ten places at once. He has to preach, hear confessions, quieten the children, carry them about, look after them and drive away the dogs, cocks and ducks that constantly interrupt his preaching."

The first missionaries had been ordered to inaugurate a Chinese clergy with all speed. Innocent X had told Mgr Pallu: "I would rather see you consecrate one good bishop in these

parts than convert 50,000 idolaters." The instructions of Propaganda to Mgr Pallu and Mgr Lambert de la Motte in 1689 gave them authority "to oblige the vicars apostolic, under threat of canonical penalties, to educate and ordain clerics and priests and thus to open the way to the episcopate as quickly as possible to native priests". An indult of Alexander VII was implemented and a beginning was made by ordaining to the priesthood middle-aged Chinamen, catechists of exemplary life, who were not required to know Latin, provided they pronounced it correctly and understood the sacramental formulas. This procedure was suited to the heroic times but could not become a general practice. A more thorough formation was essential. With this in mind, Mgr Lambert de la Motte, on his arrival in Siam, established a seminary at Juthia.

The first Chinese bishop, Mgr Lo or Lopez—it was the custom to Europeanize surnames—never left it. Fr Navarette had pointed him out to Mgr Pallu as a suitable candidate for the episcopate and he was consecrated in 1685. The second native bishop in the Far East, Francis Perez, was born at Tenasserim, the son of a Filipino father and a Siamese mother, and so was a half-caste. He was also one of the most devout and brilliant pupils of the Juthia seminary. With him the first experiment with native vicars apostolic came to an end as early as the end of the seventeenth century. They were beyond reproach in their priestly lives but lacked the authority to hold out against the claims of the *Padroado* and to discipline the Western missionaries who were constantly quarrelling with one other. We may well ask whether anyone else in their place would have overcome such difficulties.

However, the formation of a native clergy was not abandoned. All the missionaries, whatever their attitude in the struggle over the Chinese rites, wanted to work on its behalf. But agreement was impossible both as to the recruitment of this native clergy and its formation and deployment.

The Jesuits were apprehensive about the effect of the environment at Peking and Macao on the seminarists. Should these



young Chinese be sent to Europe? The experiment was tried in the middle of the eighteenth century. The candidates educated at La Flèche proved worthy of the priesthood. But the priests-in-charge of the mission wanted to have them as simple catechists; they were to complete their preparation on the spot and would only be admitted to Orders after this testing period. The European Fathers and those in China could not agree and the European scheme was abandoned. An effort was made to establish seminaries in the heart of the empire in spite of the edicts outlawing Catholicism. This attempt also failed. The following passage from a letter of Fr Charlier's explains why: "All the pupils have defaulted, have learned nothing and have had to be dismissed. To educate them properly we should have to send them away from their own country, otherwise they make no progress in knowledge or virtue. Experience is there to prove it."

However, the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions, by forming priests both on the spot and at the Juthia college, succeeded after the beginning of the eighteenth century in having several Chinese ordained. One of them, Andrew Ly, may be held up as an example to the Universal Church. The only priest in Szechwan in the mid-eighteenth century for several years after the death or banishment of the European missionaries, a perpetual traveller often obliged to disguise himself to escape from his persecutors, he would revive in one place a Christian community on the verge of flight, in another encourage the wavering; elsewhere he would solve cases of conscience. Yet he found time between two periods of imprisonment to draw up instructions for the catechists, to have the calendar of Christian feasts printed every year, and, with the approval of the seminary in the rue du Bac, to recruit candidates for the priesthood.

When Mgr Pottier became vicar apostolic of Szechwan, he found an embryo seminary with nine boys in it. It was the work of Andrew Ly. The number of ordinations continued to be very small. Many pupils died during their course of study.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century (1763), Mgr Pottier took advantage of the indult of Alexander VII to ordain three clerics who knew no Latin. Another priest from the Paris Foreign Missions, M. Hamel, started a peripatetic seminary which for forty years moved backwards and forwards between Szechwan and Yunnan in order to avoid persecution. During these forty years, twenty-two priests were trained and ordained and they had often to be confessors of the faith. Several suffered martyrdom, three were beatified.

After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, a Vincentian, Nicolas Raux, in accordance with a decree of Propaganda dated February 5th, 1783, succeeded the Jesuit scientists at Peking and became a member of the board of mathematicians. Now that they were ordinary secular priests, the Jesuits showed admirable zeal in their submission to the authority of the heads of the missions in their places of residence. The Vincentians fell back on the same method as that used by the Foreign Missions in their training of Chinese priests. The candidates who had been prepared in the clandestine seminaries completed their studies at the Macao seminary. When it was broken up in 1845, it had trained thirty-three Chinese priests.

### THE MISSIONS IN INDO-CHINA

From the moment of his arrival in Siam, Mgr Lambert de la Motte had come up against the representatives of the *Padroado*, who threatened to arrest him and his missionaries. They therefore had to take refuge at Ayouthia, in the concession of the Cochinchinese. They used this enforced stay to put into shape a regulation (the *Monita*) in which they expressed their intention of acting "in an apostolic fashion", that is, to refuse to accept any political office from the local sovereigns.

They were all in a hurry to begin their apostolic work. Louis Chevreuil, a member of the "Bons Amis" group, who had been appointed vicar general for Cochinchina, entered Faïfo, where he was given a rather cool reception by the few Euro-

pean priests depending on the *patronato* who had preserved the faith of Fr de Rhodes' converts. Persecution forced him to return to Siam. Shortly afterwards he returned to Cochinchina where he fell ill. The young priest who had accompanied him, Hainques (he deserves to be mentioned by name), devoted himself unaided to the task of bringing spiritual help to the persecuted and hunted Christians. He had time to train the two first Cochinchinese priests: Joseph Trang and Luke Ben, who were ordained under the conditions laid down in the indult of Alexander VII. He then died, worn out by his labours.

When the vicar general appointed for Tonkin, Louis Deydier, entered the territory in 1666, the last priests had just been expelled. The little Christian community was under the direction of catechists who lived in hiding on a boat. This boat, which has remained celebrated in the history of the Tonkin missions, sheltered a seminary in which Deydier, after a stay of eighteen months, chose two candidates for the priesthood: Benedict Hien and John Hué. They were ordained in Siam and then returned at once to their own country. When Mgr de la Motte succeeded in landing, Deydier brought to him seven other candidates for ordination and forty-eight catechists to receive the tonsure and minor orders. Subsequently the vicar apostolic assembled the first synod of Tonkin. All his missionaries and nine native priests attended it. It was decided that, in the chief towns, a fixed place of residence should be allocated to the priests and the catechists; that in every separate group, certain of the most deserving members of the community should be chosen to be responsible for presiding at assemblies for prayer and for the maintenance of general good order: that, with the example of the Twelve Apostles in mind, and with the help coming from Europe and from local alms, a common fund should be inaugurated to provide the means of subsistence for the missionary personnel.

Young women and Christian widows, who desired to consecrate themselves more fully to God, received from Mgr Lambert de la Motte a rule which included community life in

addition to the three vows. He also gave them a strict set of regulations in which prayer and penance played a great part. This was the beginning of the Congregation of the Amantes de la Croix (Votaries of the Cross) for the education of girls, the care of the sick and the baptism of children in danger of death.

These Far-Eastern Christian communities were seldom left at peace. They had to go underground for most of the time, yet such periods were succeeded by a few months of toleration during which public worship would come out into the open. At Tonkin, Deydier spent two years in prison. At the outset in Siam, King Phra-Naraï seemed well disposed. The embassy which he sent to Louis XIV was received with great ceremony at Versailles and Paris. The Siamese envoys returned home accompanied by a French delegation headed by M. de Chaumont, who made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the king of Siam would receive instruction in the truths of Catholicism. But nothing of the kind ensued. Phra-Naraï was overthrown by a revolution and his successor drove the French from Bangkok and Mergui. As the evacuation orders had been badly executed on both sides, the missions suffered from the repercussions. Mgr Laneau, the vicar apostolic, some missionaries and a number of the faithful were thrown into prison, the churches were closed and Mgr La Motte's tomb desecrated.

The greatest upheaval of the century was caused by the revolt of the Tay-Son. Their leader conquered the whole of Cochin-China, put the *chua* and his son to death, invaded Tonkin shortly afterwards and drove out the king who was the last of his line and had to take refuge in China. The heir to the kingdom of Cochin-China, Nguyen-Anh, a young man of seventeen and the nephew of the murdered *chua*, eluded the rebels by seeking asylum with the vicar apostolic, Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine. Meanwhile, the English in India and the Dutch in Batavia offered their help in restoring him to his kingdom. This would have meant the entry of Protestantism into Vietnam and the Catholic missions would have been threatened with the same fate as befell those in Ceylon after the Dutch

conquest of the island. Since this was how matters stood, Mgr Pineau de Béhaine set out for Versailles to ask the French Government to defend the cause of the dethroned monarch. Louis XIV's ministers, completely devoid of all enthusiasm for this cause, drew up a treaty of alliance between France and Nguyen-Anh. The governor of Pondicherry refused to implement its stipulations on the grounds that he had received secret orders leaving him full freedom of action.

Mgr Pineau de Béhaine next appealed for French volunteers: engineers and officers. These fitted out two ships at their own expense and armed a small expeditionary force whose intervention was enough to bring about the restoration of Nguyen-Anh. After 1802 he reigned under the name of Gia-Long, showed himself tolerant and remained on good terms with Mgr Pineau de Béhaine, but did not become a convert. However, when struck down by a serious illness, he asked for baptism and died a member of the Church.

Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine had died before him. It may be said of this prelate that in difficult circumstances his political acumen had come to the rescue of his apostolic zeal. Mgr de Guébriant wrote of him: "Had he kept silent, he would have betrayed the Gospel which it was his mission to preach."

### *THE INDIAN MISSIONS AFTER FR DE NOBILI*

Although the coronation of John of Braganza in 1640 had freed Portugal from its dependence on Spain, her hold on India was to become increasingly weaker as her former privileges as discoverer and first conqueror were undermined by the Dutch, the English and the French, each in their turn allies of the local rulers. These reverses did not prevent Portugal from claiming her full rights of *Padroado* when faced with the decisions of the Holy See.

As we have seen, Matthew de Castro, who had been appointed vicar apostolic of Idalkan, had been treated as an intruder. This was the beginning of a severe struggle in which

he received many blows and gave many in return. Propaganda did not approve of all he did, yet never lost confidence in him. In fact, he had been zealous in applying the pontifical instructions concerning the founding of a native clergy and had succeeded in obtaining permission for such a clergy to be affiliated to the Oratory of St Philip Neri. The other two Goanese vicars apostolic, Custodio de Pinho and Thomas de Castro, cousins of Matthew, acted in the same way. They too were unable to persuade the *patronato* to recognize their authority. Rome therefore ceased to appoint vicars apostolic of Indian race. Here, as in China, it was not until the thirties of the twentieth century that natives were once more to be raised to the episcopate.

We may guess what suffering these rivalries caused to sensitive minds thanks to certain authentic writings dealing with the long and exemplary apostolic life of a Goanese priest, Joseph Vaz. It happened that he was at Kanara when the conflict between Thomas de Castro and the archbishop of Goa was at its height. The latter had excommunicated all who had any relations with his rival; de Castro had retorted by applying the same penalties both to priests administering the sacraments by virtue of powers they had received from Goa, and also to the faithful who accepted the sacraments at their hands. The unfortunate Vaz had received his powers from the archbishop of Goa's vicar forane and so fell under the ban of Thomas de Castro. At first he remained obedient to his archbishop and urged the faithful to repeat to him the confessions they had made to priests appointed by Propaganda. Then, troubled by the whole affair, he went to discuss his difficulties with Thomas de Castro and begged him to grant him jurisdiction and, at the same time, to tone down his warfare against the Padroadists. He obtained what he had asked for. All this never caused his zeal to flag. He went bare-footed from village to village, looking for Christian families, reconciling apostates and giving help to those who had been reduced to slavery. Eventually, the quarrels became such a burden to him that he asked the archbishop of

Goa for permission to leave Kanara for Ceylon (1684). His request was granted. He was a man of profound humility and before his departure he called on his successor, the pro-vicar. He assured him that he had never wanted to offend the vicar apostolic personally or his priests, and asked to be given public conditional absolution. Not that he thought he had deserved excommunication but he wanted nobody to doubt his filial respect for the archbishop of Goa. The pro-vicar realized that the man was a saint and refused.

Joseph Vaz was able to enter Ceylon, disguised as a beggar, in 1688 or thereabouts. The decree expelling all the missionaries promulgated by the Dutch after their conquest of the island, had not been withdrawn. Later, a few Goanese had been allowed to enter. Vaz joined these, brought the scattered flock together again and enlarged it in a miraculous fashion. He was responsible for 30,000 conversions in the quarter of a century between his clandestine entry into the country and his death in 1711. The cause of his beatification was introduced almost at once. It was then abandoned because of difficulties connected with the inquiry. It has just been revived on the initiative of the bishop of Candy. Joseph is the noblest figure among the Goanese clergy who were sufficiently numerous in the eighteenth century to provide priests for all the churches between the delta of the Indus to Cape Comarin and from Cape Comarin to the Ganges.

At Madura, the Jesuits, faithful to Fr de Nobili's methods, continued to base their apostolate on both *Sanyassi* and *Pandara* missionaries. They had little success among the Brahmins; among the other castes results were slightly less disappointing and year in, year out, about a thousand converts were baptized. In 1688, the mission was reinforced by French Jesuits who, once they had landed at Pondicherry, obtained permission to evangelize the interior and left the French Capuchins to minister to the European colony in the town.

A serious conflict between the two institutes was shortly to break out when the process of beatification of the greatest

missionary in the province at the time, the Jesuit, John de Britto, was introduced at Rome. The son of one of King John IV's Masters of Horse, page and fellow student of the future regent, Don Pedro, at the age of sixteen he had turned his back on the brilliant career which was opening before him with the firm intention of preaching the Gospel in the Indies. As a Pandara missionary in Panjore, the Eastern province, he had been arrested on several occasions, imprisoned, beaten and tortured. He was eventually condemned to death but was reprieved by the king of Marava on condition that he gave up all preaching and left the country. His superiors sent him back to Europe. But nothing, neither prayers nor entreaties nor promises of a fine future, could make him forget the missions. He was in Madura again in 1691. He was offered but refused the archbishopric of Cranganore. Faithful to his vocation as a Pandara, he took up again the same insecure and apostolic life he had previously led. He wrote to his brother: "Our enemies do not cease from harassing us, but the king and his ministers pay no attention to their recriminations. The king contents himself with declaring that if I were to preach in his own territory, he would have me beheaded. I am now trying to obtain an audience so as to find out what my legal position is."

The king of Marava was not the kind of man to listen to the complaints of any- and everybody, but when one of his nieces came to tell him that a neighbouring prince, whose youngest wife she herself was, had repudiated her in order to obey the laws of Christ, he decided to put to death the man responsible for his conversion. He entrusted the task of execution to one of his brothers who cut John de Britto's throat with a blow from his scimitar. In the last fifteen months of his life John de Britto had baptized 8,000 people and the movement of conversion had continued after his death, so that the cause of his beatification was introduced immediately.

At the outset, it roused the liveliest opposition from the



French Capuchins at Pondicherry. In a report they sent to Rome, they accused John de Britto and all the Jesuits of showing an exaggerated toleration towards the Malabar rites. This denunciation reached Rome at the time Mgr Maillard de Tournon was about to leave for the Far East as legate with the task of settling the problem of the Chinese rites. He was now told to institute an inquiry into the Malabar rites as well. At Pondicherry he met Fr de Visdelou who had not been able to accept Fr Ricci's conclusions in the matter of the rites. The opinion of this Jesuit, who was considered a great sinologue, must have carried great weight with the legate. In any case, on June 23rd, 1704, he signed a decree annulling the toleration granted to these rites by Gregory XV at the request of Fr de Nobili. This decree enjoined obedience under threat of excommunication. It divided the missionaries into two camps. It also caused John de Britto's cause to be abandoned, for how could a religious be raised to the honours of the altar if he had practised customs forbidden by the Holy See? But the Holy See always ends by rehabilitating those it has ill-treated. John de Britto was beatified in 1851 and canonized in 1941.

The Madura mission recruited fewer and fewer *Sanyassi* and *Pandara* vocations after this. Yet there were two other Jesuits who distinguished themselves in this region: Fr Hanxleben, to whom we owe the first Sanskrit grammar, and Fr Beschi, a fervent missionary, a polyglot and an extraordinarily prolific poet. He wrote lives of the saints, among them one of St Joseph containing 3,615 quatrains and loaded with quotations from the Bible; and a *Veda Vilakkan*, or explanation of Catholic doctrine in twenty-eight chapters. It was often reprinted in the nineteenth century.

This brief sketch of Christianity in India would be incomplete without mention of the Syro-Malabar Christian communities which, according to a well-established tradition, were descended from the converts of St Thomas, the first Apostle

of India. All the travellers in the Middle Ages had drawn attention to these communities which were dependent on the Church of Antioch or that of Persia through the Catholics of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Were they followers of one or other of the Eastern heresies, were they schismatics or Catholics both in word and at heart? Contemporary scholars still discuss these questions. But, when modern missions began, there was an initial period of peaceful relations, after which in 1599, the Synod of Diemper (Udiamperur) declared that they were Nestorians and decided that they should be forcibly restored to communion with Rome. In future, they were to have only one bishop, a Latin and a suffragan of Goa. Their books were to be burnt, their traditions cast aside and the use of Syriac limited to the translation of the calendar, the Latin Missal and Ritual.

An ambitious man, the archdeacon Thomas, put himself at the head of a resistance movement and so was raised to the dignity of a *mar*. But one section of the Syrians refused to recognize his authority and appealed to the Holy See who sent them an Italian Carmelite as vicar apostolic. He succeeded in re-establishing unity in his flock but, shortly afterwards, the capture of the town of Cochin by the Dutch led to the departure of the bishop. The Syrians were invited by the Dutch occupying power to choose a bishop and enthrone him. They split again, some nominating *mar* Thomas, who adopted the Monophysite views of the patriarchs of Antioch so as to obtain episcopal consecration from a Jacobite bishop. Thus there was a "new party". The others, faithful to their original faith, formed the "old party". This time the schism was complete.

Already divided in this way, the St Thomas Christians had also to suffer from the conflict of jurisdiction between the bishops of the *Padroado* and the vicars apostolic. They had only one common desire: to have a hierarchy of their own race and this could only alas! become possible by means of a schism.

### *THE PATRONATO MISSIONS IN SOUTH AND NORTH AMERICA*

At the time of the establishment of the Congregation of Propaganda, the *patronato* missions had already taken their final shape. They were not so much missions as the extension or rather the implantation of the Churches of Portugal and Spain in the new world, with this very unapostolic addition that they depended on the Council of the Indies and so, in a word, escaped from the authority of Propaganda. All attempts to reform certain abuses came to nothing.

In 1611, the Jesuit, Louis de Valdivia, who had been raised to the office of royal commissioner by Madrid, had freed 10,000 Indians from slavery and had forbidden any fresh raids or enslavement. But he succeeded only in enlisting against him colonists, soldiers, officials and the religious of the other Orders. Antonio Vieira underwent similar cruel trials in Brazil from 1652 onwards. This missionary had evangelized some fifty villages along 1,000 miles of the coast. He too had undertaken to defend the natives and to ask Lisbon to put an end to the slave raids. He was listened to and appointed visitor of the Brazilian missions. He was thus able to pacify the tribes on the verge of revolt. Nevertheless he was treated as a sedition-monger by the colonists. The Inquisition condemned him to two years' imprisonment on account of his book *Quinto imperio del mondo*, and he had many other tussles with the same tribunal in Rome. However, justice was done to him in the end. At the age of seventy-three he then set out again, indifferent to the honours offered him by the pope, for Brazil, where he died in Amazonia at the age of eighty-nine.

Other missionaries experienced the same trials. The criticisms they aroused, even in missionary circles themselves, indicate that dignitaries of the Churches of South America and Mexico, both secular and regular (except the Capuchins), to the extent that they become part of the colonial system, had sometimes been influenced by it. It is certain that the clergy, all of whom were Spanish or Creole (Vieira himself considered

the *almazinhas*, the little souls of his dear Indians, unready for the time being to receive the priesthood) was badly distributed. In the towns, the clergy were too numerous and too rich. In the rural parishes and the *haciendas* they were too scarce and too poor. The instruction of the converts suffered in consequence.

But this is only one aspect of the matter. The other, so clearly worthy of admiration, is the work done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from California, evangelized by Junipero Serra, to the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay. Side by side with the static Church of the colonial areas, there was a Church on the march, ardent, resourceful, creative and seeking its inspiration as best it could in the character of the Indians themselves so as to establish and confirm them in Catholicism.

This truly apostolic Church, composed of regulars, operated generally from Lima after it had handed over to the diocesan clergy the Indian parishes already established. In the mid-seventeenth century, Franciscans founded in the north of Peru a large Christian community which was laid waste at the end of the century by Indians who had not been subdued. The Franciscan missions in the south of Peru had been ill-treated during the seventeenth century. They were reopened during the first thirty years of the following century by Fr Francis of St Joseph, and when he died they had made 85,000 converts. But ten years later, an Indian from Cuzco, a self-styled descendant of the Inca Athualpa, instigated a revolt, in the course of which the mission was destroyed and several religious massacred.

In Chile, the Spanish had signed a treaty (1641) guaranteeing peaceful possession of the land to the Araucanians. The latter, when they found the treaty was not adhered to, revolted and destroyed part of the mission posts founded by the Jesuits. The Franciscans restored some of these and Fr John Frenezda, who had a perfect knowledge of the local languages, established two missionary colleges at Chillan and Tariva. A fresh revolt led to a new repression which a missionary, Fr Angel

d'Eispineira, succeeded in mitigating. When peace returned the work begun by the establishment of the colleges produced its first fruits: the first three Indian priests in Chile were ordained in 1794.

The earliest Franciscan missions in the east of Peru on the territory which is now Bolivia, obtained almost no results at all while they were helped by the colonial administration. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, there came a perfect son of St Francis, Francis del Pilar. He had the same spirit as the *Poverello* himself, making his way into the court of Melek-El-Kamel. Francis del Pilar settled in a Chiriquan village and lived there in poverty for thirty years, indifferent to insults and never ceasing to come to the help of the Indians. In the end, they were moved by his charity and agreed to receive some missionaries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Chiriquan mission had twenty-two mission posts and more than 16,000 Christians out of a population of 25,000 souls.

The Jesuits founded a large number of Indian parishes in the basins of the upper Amazon and the Marañon. Apparently there were three hundred Indian churches in Colombia during the seventeenth century, but they were not completely free from paganism. The Jesuits, profiting by the memory of the apostolate of Fr Claver to the Negroes, made many converts among the Llanos.

Fr Christopher de Torres, who became archbishop of Santa Fé in 1635, founded there a university college and decided to admit Indians to communion. The most amazing apostle of Colombia at this time, the Dominican St Louis Bertrand, began by evangelizing Cubara, Tenerife and a number of other places, baptizing thousands of Indians and then, sickened by the profligacy, cruelty and love of lucre among far too many of the Spanish officers, returned home to Spain.

By far the most original and most effective establishment, the republic of the Guaranis, stretching from Belem in the north to Uruguay in the south, and from Parana in the west to Brazil in the east, was the work of the Jesuits. The Guaranis, the

largest racial group in South America, were civilized, although to a lesser degree than the Incas. They believed in God, but their belief was an entirely personal one and involved no public worship, sacrifices or priests. They had no notion of private property and their economy was communitarian.

Loreto, the first community, founded in 1610 on the Parana, comprised two hundred families already baptized. As the Fathers guaranteed freedom, this initial nucleus attracted people living in nearby villages. This attraction continued to operate and the first Reduction was soon overpopulated. It split in two and so the Reduction of San Ignacio-Mini came into existence by the side of the original one, still on the Parana. This swarming process went on and all the more since the various freedoms granted by the Jesuits to the convert Guaranis had been sanctioned and codified by royal ordinances. But the movement forward was controlled with exemplary prudence. The Fathers began by building the Reduction and, in order to ensure its economic independence, endowed it with cattle and saw that the soil was in good condition to bear crops. Many of the inhabitants were still pagans, but the example of the religious and the converts living according to the Gospel teaching, prepared them to listen to the catechism which was only taught in full after the village had been completed. As time went on, the "swarming" was speeded up. The number of Reductions in the Guayra rose from thirteen in 1623 to twenty-four in 1630 with a population of 100,000 Guaranis. There were another half-dozen on the Parana and a dozen to the south-west of the Sierra del Tape. This incomparable success had not failed to give rise to calumnies nor had it escaped the slave raids organized by Spaniards and more often still by Portuguese. The permission given to Fr de Montoya to arm the Guaranis put an end to this. The Paulista marauders were defeated in 1640 and 1641. A relative peace was established but the loss of Guayra and Tape reduced the Republic of the Guaranis to the territory within the area round the spot where

the courses of the Parana and the Uruguay are nearest to one another.

The Reductions were all built according to the same plan. They included a vast rectangle with a spacious square on one of its sides and streets going off at right angles from it and lined with houses and blocks of flats. Just off the square were the church, the *Cotiguazu* (a home for widows, cripples, etc.), the hospital, the school and further on, a large garden.

Private property was unknown. Trade outside or within the community was the monopoly of the latter. All in good health were required to do a maximum of eight hours' work per day. In exchange, they were guaranteed all the necessities of life: housing, clothing, food, tools, education and apprenticeship for their children, an old age pension, insurance against sickness and accidents, upkeep of widows and orphans, leisure.

The working day began at about nine o'clock after Mass and ended at about four or five. On Sunday in addition to Mass there were Vespers, Rosary and confraternity meetings. Their public worship gave the Guaranis ceremonies accompanied by music and chant and all those who witnessed these commented on the dignified and reverent way in which they were carried out.

One or two Fathers at the most (and unarmed), assisted by the pick of the young men forming the group known as the Congregation of St Michael the Archangel, were all that was needed to keep the peace and ensure fraternal unity.

The downfall of the Reductions was not due to any internal weakness; it was caused first and foremost by the violent crisis that followed the cession of seven of them by Spain to Portugal, the calumnies spread abroad against the Jesuits by Plombal's agents and, finally, the suppression of the Society as a whole.

These Paraguay Reductions have been studied and praised by men of very different schools of thought. Voltaire praised them as "a triumph of humanity". Buffon considered that "nothing has given more honour to religion than the civilizing

of these nations and the laying of the foundations of an empire with no defensive arms other than those of virtue”.

The lesser Antilles do not seem to have been inhabited by indigenous peoples properly so-called. The Caribs who landed only a short while before the Spaniards cannot be considered as such. Hence, apart from these newcomers, the missionaries were preaching almost wholly to Negroes, slaves imported from Africa.

The Caribs whose religion, so it is thought, was a mixture of pantheism and shamanism, lived in the most primitive social conditions. They conceived a ferocious hatred of the whites who had driven them back and tried to impose forced labour on them. Naturally, this feeling extended to the missionaries themselves. The first among these, the Dominicans, preached the Gospel to them at Guadeloupe. The war between the Caribs and the Europeans obliged them to withdraw. They made further attempts in 1641-2, then in 1652, this time in company with the Jesuits. This new Carib mission had also to leave, after the massacre of two Jesuits. An Anglo-French agreement ceded the islands of Dominica and Saint Vincent to the Caribs and in them Dominicans and Jesuits began their apostolic work again, but with no more success than previously. Finally, the mission was abandoned in 1685.

The Negro slaves arrived in ever increasing numbers during the eighteenth century. There were 84,000 in Martinique alone and 90,000 in Guadeloupe in 1789. Catechists began to instruct them as soon as they landed. When they considered them sufficiently advanced, they passed them on to the missionaries. They were only admitted to baptism later, when they had given proof of their knowledge and good conduct. With the exception of those who had already come under Moslem influence in their native countries, they accepted baptism all the more readily since it was accompanied by holidays and presents and they considered it a godsend if they were able by trickery or cunning to have themselves baptized several times.



The Negro Code obliged owners of slaves to give them religious instruction. Many undertook this with reluctance since they considered it equivalent to wasting so many working hours and days. When the Fathers reminded them that all men were equal in the sight of God, that baptism was of outstanding importance, they still in general refused to obey them. All these obstacles were unable to prevent a West Indian Negro Christian community from coming into existence. It was made up of various elements: a few free men, slaves who were well treated and in fact were permanent members of their masters' households, and slaves attached to the plantations. These were the least well provided for, since it was very difficult to minister to them for the reasons we have mentioned. The escaped slaves or *maroons* were deprived of all religious help.

Jesuits (until the suppression and even afterwards as seculars), Dominicans, Capuchins, Carmelites, Friars Minor, Recollects, and a few seculars shared the moral responsibility for this Christian community. In all, there were no more than two hundred priests, a minute number for these hundreds and thousands of souls. It is surely not surprising that under such conditions this community was not a model one, that it often harboured traces of fetishism imported from Africa, and that its moral standards were deplorable. But there were within it families based on regular marriage. Some of the good Christians whom it was found possible to send back to their native land after the abolition of the slave trade and slave status often became the nucleus around which the first African missions came into existence.

### *MGR BORGIA'S INQUIRY REVEALS A GENERAL DECLINE: ITS CAUSES*

The last few chapters suggest that there was a falling-off in missionary work. Its full extent became known when in 1773 Mgr Borgia presented to Clement XIV the general census on which he had been working since 1765. In China there were

125,000 Christians, in Tonkin 200,000, a few thousands in Cochin-China, Siam and Burma, perhaps 500,000 in India (225,000 of these were in Goa), 100,000 in Ceylon and 80,000 Syro-Chaldean Catholics; some tens of thousands in Africa; 100,000 in Canada and Nova Scotia; 25,000 in the Californian missions and 25,000 in Texas; 400,000 Negroes had been evangelized in the West Indies as well as a few hundred Caribs; 100,000 Indians in the Paraguay Reductions; and perhaps 100,000 in all the other missions of Portuguese and Spanish America: in all, a total of less than two million.

But the returns for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave the figures for Catholics in Spanish and Portuguese America as 15 to 20 million; 4 to 5 million in the Philippines; 600,000 to 700,000 Japanese. Even if we suppose that one of these lists of figures was drawn up too optimistically and the other too strictly or with insufficient data, the divergence is still too great to allow of any doubt as to the extent of the decline.

There were local reasons for it. There is no point in going over them once more and they were not the most serious ones; these we must look for in Europe.

Their unity in faith had not prevented Spain, Portugal and France, from the eighteenth century onwards, from waging bitter warfare with one another in an attempt to extend their colonies. The Protestant powers, England and Holland, had been equally greedy and each of their conquests had been followed by an extension of Protestantism—to Ceylon and Indonesia—accompanied by hostility towards Catholicism. These struggles between Europeans could not fail to do a disservice to the religions they protected.

In France, the Jansenist quarrel, aggravated by the quarrel over the rites, had slowed down missionary effort in the seventeenth century. The enthusiastic workers, men like Olier, Vincent de Paul, Bagot, etc., had never really been replaced.

Of course, these theological disputes emboldened and encouraged the enemies of Catholicism throughout Europe. They declared a war to the death against it, a war all the more

dangerous in that it was waged in the name of reason, progress and freedom. Its principal achievement, the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, skilfully planned by Diderot and d'Alembert to create "a general and widespread attitude of hostility towards all that smacked of religion", gained for the philosophic spirit, thanks to a no less skilful circulation policy, converts of high standing outside France whose decisions dealt a terrible blow to the missions. Two of the most active of these men, Pombal (1699-1782) at Lisbon, and Aranda (1718-99), a personal friend of Voltaire, at Madrid, with the support of all the courts of Europe succeeded in obtaining from a weak pope, Clement XIV, his signature to the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (1773) which suppressed the Society of Jesus.

Once the French Revolution had abolished the religious Orders, closed the seminaries, secularized the property of the clergy and confiscated the inheritance of "émigrés" and suspects, recruitment in France ceased altogether and the work of the missions lost a large section of its resources. Finally, for a quarter of a century the wars of the Revolution and the Empire made communications difficult between Europe and the missions. In view of all this, the very serious decline revealed by the Borgia report was bound to become still more marked.

In America and Canada, 137 priests were left and twenty-four of these were missionaries. They were gradually to disappear. The progress of Catholicism towards the West was interrupted and only revived in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The Franciscans and then the Dominicans replaced the Jesuits in California and Texas, but Louisiana and Florida and central North America were abandoned for twenty years. In the thirteen states of the Union, Baltimore which had been a prefecture apostolic, was now a diocese but there were twenty-five priests in all for 24,000 Catholics. A handful of religious were living in Mexico. They were barely tolerated by the new government in revolt against Madrid. There was a

similar shortage in the lesser Antilles (in spite of the addition to their numbers provided by French priests, deportees to Guiana who had managed to escape) and in Guiana itself whose new prefect apostolic had under his jurisdiction the whole coast as far as Brazil.

In South America, the missions had been disorganized by wars of independence, and also in Mexico, although in Peru, the Indians remained loyal to their missionaries. The expulsion of the Franciscans (1810), the Jesuits' successors in Paraguay, brought in its train the dispersal of the Guaranis and the looting of what remained of the Reductions.

In India, the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions were unable to replace the Jesuits except in the Coimbatore, Mysore and Carnatic missions. The oversight of the Christian communities fell to a hundred or so missionaries of various Orders who were not replaced after their death. A large number of their converts, deprived of spiritual help, gave up the practice of their religion or became Protestants. The four dioceses of the *Padroado* were to remain without bishops until 1818. This was the fault of Portugal whose governments since Pombal had been anticlerical.

In the Indo-Chinese peninsula, only the Christian community in Annam (Cochin-China, Cambodia, Tonkin), with its 400,000 Christians, remained steadfast, thanks to the goodwill of Gia-Long, the protégé of Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine, and to a relatively numerous native clergy.

In China, the French and Portuguese Vincentians succeeded the Jesuits. Two of them, men of learning, had seats on the board of mathematics at Peking and enjoyed the imperial favour. They were able, for the time being, to protect the missionaries scattered throughout the empire. But nothing could stop the persecution launched by Kiaking in 1802. The missionaries, banished from Peking, were obliged to take refuge at Siwantse, beyond the Great Wall, in Manchuria. Mgr Dufresse was beheaded and four Chinese priests were put to death by strangling in 1815. Fr Clet, the Vincentian, and

Fr John de Triora were martyred in 1820. The last missionaries had come out in 1801. No more arrived until 1829. We may well ask what would have become of the China missions whose European establishment was decreasing year by year, had not the members of this establishment done all in their power to train, at Manila in particular and on the spot, a Chinese clergy (it numbered eighty-nine priests at the beginning of the century), and had they not been helped by excellent catechists and Chinese women, nuns by desire if not in fact, entirely devoted to apostolic work.

Japan was still closed to missionaries, but the arrival at Manila in 1829 of twenty Japanese bringing medals with them and wishing to be baptized, showed that the light of faith continued to burn there.

In Africa, Abyssinia was without missionaries, five or six Vincentians were in residence at Algiers, three at Tripoli, five Capuchins at Tunis, four of whom died of the plague while tending those who had been struck down by it. At Benghazi, a mission had been opened by the Franciscans. In West Africa, the prefecture apostolic of Senegal had not survived the Revolution, and two attempts to restore it had failed. In the Congo, in Angola and at Mozambique, the remains of the Portuguese missions were in the last stages of decay. In the Indian Ocean and on the island of Bourbon in 1818, five Vincentians were in charge of eleven parishes with a population of 12,000 whites, 3,000 blacks and 60,000 slaves. Madagascar had been almost given up and in 1829 was restored to the immense prefecture apostolic entrusted to Mgr Solages which comprised all the South Sea Islands as far as Australia and Oceania, where missionaries were unable to land for a long time to come.

The situation was no brighter in the Near East. The see of Baghdad had been vacant since 1773 and was not filled until 1820. The new arrival then found the missions neglected. The same was the case with those of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Cyprus and Egypt.

*FIRST SIGNS OF A RE-AWAKENING OF THE  
MISSIONARY SPIRIT*

Setbacks on every side! It was time to remember that the *Imitation*, quoting St Paul, recommends us to accept these with joy, "for it is always for our salvation that God brings about or permits all that happens to us". In any case, at the end of the seventeenth century, a light suddenly shone in Korea, a feeble light indeed, yet kindled in such a surprising fashion that it was sufficient to drive darkness and desolation from the land. It was not the work of any missionary. A treatise on the Catholic religion which had come from China together with various scientific works, fell into the hands of an educated man and made him a Catholic by desire. He shared his discovery with a friend about to leave for Peking with the annual delegation and asked him to make contact with the Christians of the Chinese capital. The friend obtained an audience with the archbishop of Peking, studied Catholic doctrine, was present at some of the ceremonies, was himself won over and asked for baptism. This he received and once back again in Seoul, loaded with books and pious objects, baptized the Catholic by desire. Between them, they converted a third scholar in their small circle. The three of them converted others and worked to such good effect that the first priest to enter Korea, James Tsiu, found there 4,000 Catholics who had remained steadfast under fierce persecution. This priest was beheaded in 1801 and with him several Koreans of high rank. The "underground" Church of Korea then numbered some 10,000 faithful and several martyrs. Yet no missionary had come to it. It was already so steeped in the spirit of Catholicism that it asked the pope to send a bishop and some priests. The letter reached Fontainebleau at the time when Pius VII was Napoleon's prisoner and quite unable to give a favourable reply for lack of missionaries. A new request in 1827 decided Leo XII to entrust Korea to the Paris Foreign Missions, but they were unable to send out missionaries until 1835.

In France, Napoleon at first seemed anxious to rebuild the

ruins left by the Revolution, but for reasons of a political nature. These were analysed in the Portalis report and the emperor summed them up cynically in an address to the Council of State: "... These religious will be very useful to me in Africa, Asia and America. I shall send them out to gather information on the state of affairs in the various countries . . ."

A decree of March 23rd, 1805, therefore legalized the existence of the Society of the Foreign Missions, the Seminary of the Holy Spirit and the Vincentian Congregation. But fresh difficulties with the Holy See, caused by the unbridled Gallicanism of the emperor, brought in their train the revocation of these decrees of 1805 in Paris, and in Rome (soon after occupied by Miollis), the suppression of the Congregation of Propaganda, the seizure of its archives and the control of its finances by the imperial authority.

After the collapse of the Empire, Pius VII reorganized the Congregation of Propaganda in 1817. In Paris, Louis XVIII re-established the Society of the Foreign Missions by the decree of March 2nd, 1815, the seminary of the Holy Spirit and the Vincentians by the decree of February 3rd, 1816.

Moreover, this legal re-establishment was accompanied by a re-awakening of the missionary spirit. It may be asked to whom or to what this was due. We must certainly not disregard the deep emotion aroused by the *Génie du christianisme* (1802), but the new editions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* were even more influential. It was while listening to a commentary on these at a meeting of the association of prayer for the salvation of the infidels that a Lyonesse woman of great piety, Pauline-Marie Jaricot, thought of the idea of making collections for the missions. It was from this initial effort that the work of the Propagation of the Faith was to emerge in 1822. In the same year, the Council of this Society began to publish extracts from missionaries' letters under the title of *Nouvelles des Missions* ("News of the Missions"), to be re-

placed in 1825 by *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* ("Annals of the Propagation of the Faith").

From the ruins left by the Revolution and with the intention of rebuilding them, there came into being three new institutes whose chief object was the apostolate *ad infideles*: the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, approved in 1800 and better known as the Société de Picpus from the name of the street in Paris where it was founded during the Empire by Fr Coudrin; the Society of Mary (Marists) founded by the Venerable Fr Colin and approved by Pius VII in 1822; the Congregations of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, established in 1816 by Mgr de Mazenod.

Finally, the resumption of exploration and the campaigns against slavery contributed, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, towards the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the missions. Fifty years later, the furious river rapids which form a sheer barrier to navigation round almost the whole coast of Africa, had been everywhere crossed. Through the breaches the missions, which had previously been confined almost exclusively to the coasts, were able to move forward into the interior of the continent and sometimes to complete the work of the explorers.



PART III

FROM GREGORY XVI TO  
BENEDICT XV



## CHAPTER IX

# THE AFRICAN MISSIONS

### *FIRST FOUNDATIONS ON THE PERIMETER (1820-75)*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century African Christianity was in process of extinction. Its revival should undoubtedly be dated from the day when a few nuns belonging to the order of St Joseph of Cluny landed on Senegal in 1817 and in 1820 opened a school at St Louis de Senegal, but still more from the day of the arrival, two years later, of the foundress of the new institute. A trifling matter, you may say. No, it was a matter of immense importance if we bear in mind the vision which Mother Javouhey had seen in 1800.

At a time when, already attracted to the life of perfection, she prayed to be granted new light, she saw little children with black faces crowding into her room. "They held out their hands to me and called me 'dear mother'. They seemed so unhappy that the memory of it has ever since been impressed on my memory..." St Teresa appeared in one corner of the scene and told her: "They are God's children and I am giving them to you. I shall be the protectress of your order." She had just established this order, the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny. Mother Javouhey found her "children" on Senegal in 1822 in the streets of Saint-Louis.

Her genius for putting ideas into practice was so quick in action that she was already thinking of giving them instruction, of providing for them a specially recruited body of priests prepared for the apostolate in the colonies, and a seminary to which young Africans fitted to become priests would be admitted.

In 1825, she made herself responsible for the transfer of eight of these to France where they began their studies at Bailleul-sur-Thérain. Three persevered and were ordained by Mgr Affre in 1840.

But even before this threefold ordination, the cause of the missions in Africa had found its second hero in Abbé Libermann. Among the "devotional groups" he had formed in the seminary of Saint-Sulpice, two Creole seminarists, one from the island of Bourbon, the other from Port-au-Prince, had opened his eyes to the wretched state of the Negro slaves. This staggering discovery which followed his meditations on the bold programme of Mother Javouhey, moved Libermann and his friends to found the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Mary, which was to devote itself to the evangelization of the Negroes. When it received the approval of Gregory XVI in 1840, it was composed of a mere handful of priests. Its founder entrusted ten of his men (seven Fathers and three Brothers) to Mgr Barron, vicar apostolic of the two Guineas. This first party was all but wiped out in a few months (1844) in the Cape Palmas area by a deadly climate against which at that time there was no defence. Two survived and one of them, Fr Bessieux, was sent to Gabun where he landed in 1845.

In France, the news of the disaster was a torture to Libermann, torn between his sorrow ("I do not want to send my children to be butchered", he cried) and his desire not to abandon "more than fifteen million souls who have never heard of the good news our Lord brought to earth". His disciples all asked if they might leave for Guinea. He yielded, and in 1846 a second party founded a post opposite the small island of Gorée in a modest concession which in 1862 still had the appearance of a village but later became Dakar.

Thus the two first bases for this new evangelization were now in existence, one in Gabun with Mgr Bessieux, appointed vicar apostolic of the two Guineas in 1848, the other on Senegal. Their founders thenceforward belonged to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost which emerged from the fusion in

1848 of the Congregation established by Libermann and the Seminary of the Holy Spirit. In both places, the period of trial and error lasted, it may be said, until the speeding up of exploration during the last quarter of the century. On Senegal, Mgr Kobès (Mgr Bessieux's coadjutor in 1849), helped by the Lammenais Brothers and the Sisters of Castres for the schools, and the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny for the care of the sick, succeeded, in spite of the strong positions held by Islam, in establishing six posts on the coast: Saint-Louis, Gorée, Joal, Dakar, Sainte-Marie de Gambie and Ngazobil. At his death in 1872, the Senegal mission was well established and had six Senegalese priests and a congregation of Negro sisters, the Daughters of the Sacred Heart of Mary, founded by the Blue Sisters of Castres. His successor brought the Gospel to the south, to Casamance in the country of the fetichists, where Islam had not gained an entry.

Progress was slower perhaps in Gabun. France had only one miserable little outpost on the Libreville peninsula, inhabited by a Negro population which the slave traffic and various kinds of trade kept in a state of listlessness and corruption. Beyond the post was the unexplored forest. Mgr Bessieux, with the monks of the early centuries in mind, decided to give these rather unapproachable Negroes an example of a Christian life and productive work. He himself took part in the clearing of the forest and the prairie, so that a mission post might be set up. It had its church, workshops, vegetable and fruit gardens and soon after its schools under the direction of the Blue Sisters of Castres. This method was that adopted in Canada during the seventeenth century by the builders of the first Christian villages. He himself acquired sufficient prestige to be able to tell the French admiral who, after the events of 1871, was talking of evacuating Gabun: "Admiral, we are standing in front of a door which may well open one day." And he proved to be right when exploration began to develop.

Previous to this period, the missionaries had blazed trails

in two other sections of central Africa on the shores of the gulf of Guinea and on the east coast.

In 1856, a former member of the Paris Society of Foreign Missions, Mgr de Marion-Brésillac who had been vicar apostolic of Coïmbatour, made up his mind to devote himself to the evangelization of the Negroes and, with the approval of Pius IX, founded the Lyons African Missions. He was appointed vicar apostolic of Sierra Leone and landed there in 1858 with three priests and two brothers. Less than two months later all five of them died of yellow fever. It was an even greater disaster than that of Cape Palmas. Yet it too was not allowed to breed discouragement. A new party set out from Lyons in 1861, this time for the Slave Coast and Dahomey, where there were still a few small groups of Christian Negroes who had been evangelized in America and repatriated after the abolition of the slave trade. At Lagos, Ouidah and Porto Novo between 1861 and 1868 new mission posts developed of the same type as those established by the Holy Ghost Fathers.

On the east coast where the slave trade was practised more blatantly and with more impunity than in the west, a Holy Ghost Father, Fr Horner, established at Zanzibar in 1863 a medical centre and a Catholic school which took in Negro children who had been ransomed. In the course of the next few years, he built it up into a mission that was a model at the time. He added to the elementary schools a vocational institute for adults with facilities for training in all trades, an embryo seminary where Latin was taught, and a school of domestic science. From 1868 onward, he built another centre on the same model at Bagamoyo on the mainland opposite Zanzibar. Soon afterwards, he built a third on the heights of Mhonda. These three foundations, and Bagamoyo in particular, were to serve as bases for the departure and as stages on the journey of new bands of missionaries and several explorers, among them Stanley and Cameron. Bagamoyo, like Libreville in the West, was "the mother of all the missions" in the East.

In South Africa, the hostility of the Protestant Boers delayed until 1820 the establishment of the first Catholic priests at the Cape. In any case, by order of the authorities, they were obliged to confine their ministry to Whites alone. The apostolate to the Negroes only really began after 1855 when the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were given the Natal vicariate. Their success in Zululand had been very moderate and they abandoned the missions they had established there and moved to Basutoland whose inhabitants gave them more satisfaction.

Of the African islands, Mauritius was entrusted to the Vincentians at the beginning of the century. They were succeeded by English Benedictines. The appeal made to the Holy Ghost Fathers by the most active among them, Mgr Collier (a missionary from 1840 to 1863), brought to the Island Fr Désiré Laval, an apostle who has rightly been compared to Fr Claver. His tomb is still honoured today. Almost half of the population is Catholic. At La Réunion, the work of the ministry was first entrusted to priests of the Holy Ghost Seminary and then, after the amalgamation achieved by Libermann, was allotted to the Holy Ghost Fathers. Today, in a population of 300,000, there are 278,000 Catholics.

After the decimation of the Vincentian missions in the seventeenth century, Catholicism had all but disappeared from Madagascar. In 1829, Mgr de Solages was appointed prefect apostolic of the islands in the Southern Sea. During the following year, he tried to enter Tananarive. Queen Ravalona forbade him to do so. In 1832, he died of fever and hunger at Andevorante on the east coast. When the Jesuits were made responsible for the Madagascar prefecture in 1841, this prohibition had not been withdrawn. Fr Finaz, however, succeeded in entering the capital in disguise during 1855. In 1861, Radama II allowed Catholicism to gain a foothold, but it was not until the general pacification of the island by Galliéni (1896) that it was really able to develop.

In the last years of the century, progress became extensive enough to bring about the establishment of two new vicariates:

Southern Madagascar, entrusted to the Vincentians, Northern Madagascar, to the Holy Ghost Fathers.

The rebirth of the missions in Ethiopia in the nineteenth century was the work of two French explorers, the brothers d'Abbadie, and an Italian Vincentian, Fr Sapeto. The favourable reports they sent to Rome persuaded Gregory XVI to send to Fr Sapeto two other Italian members of his order, Frs de Jacobis and Montuori who landed at Massouah in 1839. The immense charity of Fr de Jacobis proved so effective that Propaganda established two vicariates, Gallas entrusted to the Italian Capuchins, Abyssinia under the charge of Mgr de Jacobis and the Italian Vincentians. The Coptic clergy took umbrage at this and launched a persecution which led to the martyrdom of an Abyssinian Vincentian, Ghebra Mikael, who was beatified in 1926. Mgr de Jacobis was thrown into prison. He escaped but died, worn out by his labours, in 1860. He had been responsible for 6,000 conversions. In the meantime, French Vincentians replaced their Italian brethren (1861) and succeeded in protecting the Christian communities in spite of the persecutions of the emperor Theodorus and his successor Johannes IV, both enemies of Rome.

The first bishop of Gallas, Mgr Massaia, succeeded, at the risk of his life, in reaching Godjam and Choa on the Abyssinian plateau. Soon after, Kaffa, the southern territory, expressed a desire to receive missionaries. Once again, Copts and Moslems reacted violently. The emperor Theodorus imprisoned the bishop in 1863. But the dignity and prestige of the prisoner was so great that the emperor released him. In 1877, Johannes IV expelled the entire mission, including Mgr Massaia, who returned to Italy where he received a cardinal's hat. In 1880, the Gallas vicariate was in the hands of Mgr Taurin, a French Capuchin who, after initial difficulties, profited from the friendly dispositions of Menelik, Johannes' successor. Thenceforward, the mission foundations, while still always exposed to the hostility of the Copts and the Moslems, could be consoli-



dated and expanded. In 1900 Mgr Jarosseau was succeeded by Mgr Taurin. His long ministry (1900–36), his prestige and his inexhaustible and discerning solicitude for the people who were often threatened with famine, completed the work so heroically begun before his time. The situation of Catholicism was transformed by it. In the days of Mgr Massaia, everything which represented Catholicism in Abyssinia was detested. About fifty years later, respect had taken the place of hatred.

### *PENETRATION INTO THE INTERIOR FROM 1875 TO 1914*

A period of rapid expansion began during the last quarter of the century. A great number of explorers arrived from all parts of the world. Each of them was working on behalf of his own country and eager to ensure that it had a good share in the forthcoming partition of Africa. The slave trade sparked off fervent anti-slavery campaigns. In this combination of circumstances, an opportunity occurred for the missions to enter the field of international politics and Cardinal Lavigerie seized it with his customary promptness.

The international Association for the exploration of Africa, founded at Brussels in 1876, had undertaken to guarantee the freedom of the missionaries. The Protestants were already preparing to take advantage of this. Cardinal Lavigerie used the fact as a pretext for sending a secret memorandum to Pius IX. In it he suggested that vicariates should be established in those places where the Protestants announced their intention of founding new missions, that "Africa should be transformed by the Africans," and finally that every effort should be made to abolish slavery. Fifty of his sons (the White Fathers, religious of the Society of African missionaries which he had just founded), he noted at the end of the document, had promised on oath to devote all their strength to carrying out this vast programme.

Leo XIII had just succeeded Pius IX. Four days after his

election, he signed a rescript establishing two vicariates in the area of the Great Lakes (1878) and giving Lavigerie the powers of an "Apostolic delegate for the missions of equatorial Africa". During the summer of 1878 the first party of White Fathers left Bagamoyo. At Tabora, it split into two. One group reached the shores of Lake Tanganyika at the beginning of 1879, the other arrived a little later at Lake Victoria-Nyanza.

The reports they sent to Lavigerie gave horrifying details regarding the slave raids organized against the Negroes by the Arab dealers. He used them in drawing up a brief for the struggle against slavery.

Leo XIII was about to issue the apostolic letter *In plurimis* addressed to the bishops of Brazil on the occasion of a decree of the Brazilian Government which had just emancipated the slaves in its territories. Lavigerie asked for a few words to be added to the letter. His wish was more than granted, the addition grew into a page which described the whole African drama.

Lavigerie supplemented the effect produced by the pope's letter by himself preaching a crusade against slavery throughout Europe. It had a profound influence on the Brussels Congress of 1890, whose final enactment therefore pointed out that among the most effective means of fighting the slave-trade was "the progressive organization of the religious institutions of civilized countries". Further, the powers who signed the document undertook to protect existing and future missions. Certainly, the missionaries had not waited for these guarantees before preaching the Gospel, but the homage paid to their civilizing work, although coming a little late in the day and with a strong suggestion of empty promises, was of a kind to strengthen their position as they faced their enemies.

After the division of the party at Tabora in 1878, the first group of White Fathers, as we have said, arrived at Lake Tanganyika in the early days of the year 1879. By 1881, it had firmly established itself there, although it had lost two religious during an attack by partisans of slavery who had

tried to recover some orphans rescued from their clutches. In 1886, the Holy See established the provicariate of the Upper Congo and entrusted it to Mgr Roelens, a Belgian White Father who was joined in 1891 by his first party of missionaries. They were of the same nationality as himself. Thus was inaugurated the Great Lakes Mission, one of the finest creations of the Institute founded by Lavigerie.

In 1887, the first representatives of a recently established Belgian Institute, the Scheut Fathers, at the cost of severe losses (more than thirty per cent of the pioneers), laid the foundations of Christian communities which were eventually to flourish, on the Kasai and at the top of the Congo loop. The Jesuits in 1893 made similar foundations on the Kwango, with the help of the Sisters of Charity of Ghent.

The second party of White Fathers setting out from Tabora had reached the area north of Lake Victoria-Nyanza where three religious were murdered during the first months. Reinforcements arrived. The Superior, Fr Livinhac, obtained from the local ruler a concession at Kasubi. But the baptism of the pages of his court angered the Moslem party who maintained that the missionaries should be deprived of their freedom and Mohammedanism made obligatory. Fearing new outbreaks of violence, Lavigerie ordered the Fathers to withdraw to the opposite side of the Lake. Left by themselves, their first baptized converts made many others and they all begged the religious to return. When they did so, six hundred catechumens were waiting to be baptized. This new progress on the part of Catholicism unleashed a persecution which put eighty martyrs to death in 1886. Twenty of them, among whom were thirteen pages who were burned alive, were beatified in 1920. This sublime sacrifice brought about fresh conversions. Between 1886 and 1893, and in spite of two persecutions, one instigated by the Moslems, the other by the Protestants, the number of Christians in Uganda rose from 4,000 to 50,000.

Other missionaries also set out from the east coast: in 1890, Mgr Leroy, a Holy Ghost Father, who celebrated Mass on the

slopes of Kilimanjaro, at a height of 11,641 feet, laid the foundation of a vicariate bearing the name of the mountain. In 1891, the Nairobi mission was founded, again by Holy Ghost Fathers.

In the first years of the twentieth century, the Consolata Fathers successfully evangelized the Kikuyu and the Ameru in the south of Kenya, and the Mill Hill Fathers, the Kourrondo. In 1889, the White Fathers established the Lake Nyasa mission on the initiative of Lavigerie who had estimated that the Great Lakes missions would be more easily accessible from Mozambique than from Bagamoyo. In 1897, Propaganda established the Nyasaland vicariate and in 1908 divided it to form the new vicariate of Shiré, which was entrusted to the de Montfort Fathers.

As Mgr Bessieux had foretold, the open door leading from the west coast to Gabun widened to allow new parties of Holy Ghost Fathers to pass through. Between 1878 and the first journeys of Stanley and Brazza, they settled at Saint-Paul de Donghila (on the estuary of the Gabun), then at various points along the two banks of the lower Congo, especially at Banana and Landana. This latter mission gave hospitality during the early days of 1881 to Brazza who arrived, in a semi-dying condition, from Mfoa on Stanley Pool. It was from Landana again that Fr Augouard set out towards Mfoa where he found Stanley at the beginning of August 1881. Mfoa was later to become Brazzaville. The same religious helped towards the peaceful settlement of the French at Pointe Noire. Shortly afterwards, the basin of the lower and middle Congo became the field of action of this high-spirited missionary. When he had founded the mission station of Saint Joseph of Linzolo, he arranged for the separate parts of a small ship to be sent to Brazzaville from France. The ship was constructed under his direction and at times with his help and, under the name of the *Léon XIII*, established connections between the various mission posts that had been established in the Congo basin. *Léon XIII* wore out in time

and was succeeded by another ship of the same name, then by a *Pie X*. The vicariate of Oubangui and Brazzaville, established in 1890 to include these posts in one district, and extending from Stanley Pool to the Nile basin, covered areas that were mostly unexplored; it was a very suitable assignment for Mgr Augouard. For many years, there was only a handful of Christians there, the majority of them ransomed Negro slaves. Then, towards the beginning of the twentieth century, an extraordinary movement led these man-eating tribes towards Christianity, and to such good effect that in 1909 the original vicariate had to be divided. The southern part formed the vicariate of the French Upper Congo and the northern part the prefecture apostolic of Oubangui-Chari.

Still in equatorial Africa, the Holy Ghost Fathers had settled in 1885 on the Ogoué at Lambéréké, at Ndjolé, Lastourville, Fernan Vaz, and to the south of the river, at Loango.

After the founding of French Guinea, other Holy Ghost Fathers established posts near the coast at Boffa, Sangha and Boké, further inland at Kindia and Mamou, and in the Kissi territory, at Guédékou and Mongo. They arrived in Nigeria in 1885. Fifteen years later, the prefecture apostolic of the Lower Niger numbered three posts: Onitsha, Agouleri, Nsubé.

In 1879, after the Gold Coast prefecture had been entrusted to the Lyons African Missions, the first post was founded at Elmina on the coast. It included a school and a medical centre.

The king of the Ashantis wanted to make the acquaintance of these philanthropists and gave orders for them to be summoned to Kumassi, his capital. He gave a friendly reception to one of them, Fr Moreau (1881), who thought he might ask for permission to take up residence in the town. The king refused, doubtless because a Wesleyan minister had asked for the same favour. In any case, he dismissed them both. In the midst of all this, a revolt drove him from his throne. The Lyons missionaries were not able to settle at Kumassi until 1910.

To compensate for this, as early as 1880 they were able

to found a mission post at Abeokouta, the great city of the Yoruba, whose local chief, having once invited them to come, did not change his mind. A church soon replaced the little temporary chapel. An educational and medical centre followed for "the white women who do not marry and who come from the cold countries to save little children", as the nuns were called in the deed of conveyance drawn up by the local chief. Thanks to his goodwill, another mission post was established at Oyo.\*

The Ivory Coast became a French colony in 1893. Two years later, Propaganda established a prefecture apostolic in the country and this too was entrusted to the Lyons African Missions. After an auspicious beginning, marked by the foundation of posts at Grand-Bassam, at Memmi, then at Dabou, Bonoué, Assinie, Jacquerville and Moousso, an epidemic of plague accompanied by yellow fever decimated the 1899 mission. The missionary council decided nevertheless to keep all the stations.

The first priests to preach the Gospel in the Cameroons, Holy Ghost Fathers, came from Gabun in 1884. They were succeeded by German Pallottini Fathers when the Cameroons became a colony of the Reich and was given the status of a prefecture apostolic, and they were subsequently helped by German Fathers of the Sacred Heart (St Quentin). In the meantime, the prefecture had been replaced by a vicariate.

Nothing remained of the Portuguese seventeenth-century missions in Angola except the memory of a brilliant past, when in 1865 the Holy Ghost Fathers were given charge of the territory. One of them, Fr Duparquet, set out from Lindana on a voyage of discovery in the southern areas. He was responsible for valuable information which led Propaganda to establish the prefecture apostolic of Cimbebasia (1879), later known as Cubango. The Holy Ghost Fathers also settled at Huila (1881). At the same time, secular missionaries from Portugal, trained at the seminary of Xernache, took over the parishes that had previously been abandoned and revived San Salvador (which had seen better days) with the help of seculars from

Goa and nuns (Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny and Franciscans of Mary).

The advance of the White Fathers across the Sahara and the Sudan is one of the most glorious chapters in the history of this period. Cardinal Lavigerie had indicated Timbuctoo as the base where they were to establish a mission from which they could go out in all directions across the Sudan. But in 1876 three Fathers were murdered by the Tuareg. In 1881, three other religious also met their death in an ambush on the road from Tuat. On the orders of Cardinal Lavigerie, there then followed a period of retreat and preparation in the centre at Ghardaïa, where the Fathers and the nuns partly allayed the prejudices and hatred of the desert nomads by their works of charity. The time came when the Superior, Fr Hacquart, was given a respectful reception in the advance posts in the south of Algeria and in southern Oranais. When he set out on his great journey, the atmosphere was favourable and he arrived at Timbuctoo in 1894 without encountering any difficulties. From there, he undertook several exploratory journeys and investigations across the Sudan. The report he sent to Rome included a very penetrating forecast of the probable evolution of the Negro countries. "Soon there will no longer be in the Sudan any isolated communities living the simple, primitive life. This fanciful vision must be abandoned and we must train for the different ranks in the social world and according to each man's aptitudes, educated people, open-minded people and above all people who are Christian through and through."

Who else in 1900 had such confidence in the world of the Negroes? Meanwhile, as early as 1895, the White Fathers were at Bamako, Segou and Timbuctoo and from there they rapidly moved on to the Kissi, in the direction of Kankan to the west, and the Mossi country to the east. They were followed shortly after by the White Sisters. In the Sudan vicariate, of which Mgr Hacquart was given charge, were included the centres of Bobo-Dioulasso and Ouagadougou.

## CHAPTER X

# THE CHINA MISSIONS

### *THE SITUATION PRIOR TO THE TREATIES OF TIEN-TSIN (1858) AND PEKIN (1860)*

At the beginning of Gregory XVI's pontificate the position of the Chinese Christian communities was still much the same as it had been in about the year 1800, but there had been one change for the better: the missionaries were coming out in slightly larger numbers; and one change for the worse: the hostility of the emperors meant the more rigorous application of the edicts prescribing Christianity. In a word, the Church was still obliged to remain underground.

Legal proceedings were taken against missionaries and Chinese Christians. A Vincentian, Fr Jean Gabriel Perboyre, who arrived in Honan in 1836, was betrayed to the police by a renegade, then tortured for months on end for having refused to renounce his faith and to give information about the Christian communities. He was hanged on September 11th, 1840. He was beatified by Leo XIII.

The missions only acquired legal status after the Opium War had forcibly opened the gates of the empire. The causes of this war are well known. On March 28th, 1839, the governor of Canton ordered that some 20,000 cases of opium which a merchant by the name of Elliot wanted to introduce into China, should be seized and dumped into the sea. The Chinese Government refused to pay the compensation claimed by Elliot and suspended all trade with the English.

After a short campaign China yielded and opened the ports of Canton, Amoy, Hing-Po and Shanghai to British traders (1842). In 1844, France and America in their turn negotiated the treaty of Whampou. The French plenipotentiary, M. de



Lagrenée, succeeded in having an article included in it (23) according to which any Frenchmen venturing to any area outside the five ports indicated in the treaty with England should be taken, without receiving ill-treatment of any kind, to the French consulate in the nearest port. French priests thus found themselves safeguarded by an international agreement. But before freedom to move about and to preach could be secured for missionaries of every nation, a new European intervention was necessary. The circumstance which led to it was the martyrdom of one of the missionaries, Fr Chapdelaine (1856). The freedom in question was written into the treaty of Tien-Tsin (1858) which also contained an article (8) declaring that any missionary in possession of a passport issued by the French Legation at Peking would be considered as French. Thus France's right of protection was recognized. The general assembly of the bishops of China, which included the Italian prelates, had stated in a letter written to the pope in 1851 that they considered such protection "indispensable".

The treaty of Peking (1860), negotiated by France, obliged the Chinese Government to restore to the Christians, through the good offices of the French minister to China, the church buildings and those devoted to charitable works which had been previously confiscated. It also granted to the missionaries the right to possess and to buy land for the erection of churches and houses.

This state of affairs which has been called, perhaps too optimistically, "the French protectorate" was displeasing both to the Chinese Government—since it placed under foreign supervision small areas of its territory and the Christians living in them—and to the Holy See, in so far as it re-established, though on a very small scale, and for the benefit of France, a state of affairs which was reminiscent of the former *patronato* system.

This dissatisfaction on the part of both Rome and Peking might, in favourable circumstances, lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. The opportunity came

in 1885. At the time of the Tonkin expedition when Franco-Chinese relations had become strained, the emperor had made it known that the Chinese Christians and the missionaries, even those who were French, would be safe from violent action of any kind. Leo XIII thanked him and reminded him in a letter dated January 1st, 1885, that the envoys of the Sovereign Pontiff were not recruited from one nation alone. "A fact", he pointed out, "in complete accord with the nature of the Christian religion, which is not made for one people alone but for all, which unites all men in the bonds of brotherhood with no distinction of country or race."

In its reply, the imperial Government made it known that it was willing to accredit a minister to the Holy See and to welcome a nuncio in Peking. The establishment of direct relations, however, did not take place, as France refused to renounce the benefits she enjoyed under article 8 of the treaty of Tien-Tsin.

### *THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE*

Throughout the empire the treaties (Whampou, Tien-Tsin, Peking) improved the situation. When the guarantees of religious freedom secured by them had been included in the treaties China signed with Prussia (1861), Denmark and Holland (1863), Spain (1864), Italy (1866) and Portugal (1887), the Chinese missions did indeed take on the international character Leo XIII was to emphasize.

There was now no longer any need to work underground. Yet the outbreaks of civil war, brigandage, the attacks of xenophobia—those endemic diseases of China—never ceased. One orgy of butchery after another took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, down to the most deadly of them all, that of the Boxers in 1900 which martyred several thousand Chinese Christians.

The Chinese world faced by the missionaries in the second half of the century was almost the same as it had been in the

preceding period. It was shut in on itself, closed to European influences, and all but exclusively agricultural. Attachment to traditional ways, whether in the shape of loyalty to Chinese culture among the educated or of mere superstition among the peasants, kept all its force. Both classes took part in the family or national rites condemned by the Bull *Ex quo singulari*.

The old institutes (the Paris Foreign Missions, the Vincen-tians) developed the country settlements already established. The newcomers acted in the same way for a long time. Yet some of them showed occasional leanings towards the creation of reductions, the Scheut Fathers, for instance, in Mongolia among the Ordos and the Ala-Shan. These Christian communities which had fully developed thanks to the treaties, satisfied all the spiritual and vital needs of their members. But they were isolated groups, cut off from the national life. How could it be otherwise as long as the Bull *Ex quo singulari* continued to have the force of law?

The increasingly numerous vicariates on which they depended did not lose sight of the need to train a Chinese clergy. They all had preparatory schools in which vocations underwent a testing period, and seminaries leading to the priesthood. The Jesuits, faithful to their traditions, concentrated all their attention on higher education. At Zi-Ka-Wei, they established the College of St Ignatius, then, in 1873, an observatory which soon became famous throughout the world. At Shanghai, they opened in 1903 the Aurora University and at Tien-Tsin, an institute of higher studies. At Peking, the Fathers of the Divine Word founded two universities.

The following figures show the progress of the Church in China in the nineteenth century. In 1800, the six vicariates numbered 300,000 faithful served by 198 priests, of whom 89 were Chinese. In 1885, the 650,000 Christians were distributed among the 35 vicariates served by 700 foreign missionaries and 273 Chinese priests. In 1900, the number of the faithful had risen to 740,000, distributed among 82 vicariates served by 471 Chinese priests and 904 missionaries.

## CHAPTER XI

# THE INDO-CHINA MISSIONS

Under the reign of Gia-Long (Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine's protégé), the flourishing Christianity of Annam had only one difficulty, the shortage of missionaries. Everything changed when Minh-Mang came to the throne in 1820. His hatred of Catholicism was kept in check at first by the viceroy of Lower Indo-China, who had been one of Gia-Long's officers. After this man's death, it knew no bounds. The edict of 1825 forbade missionaries to enter the country and condemned the "perverted religion of the Europeans". The edict of 1833 called on all Christians from the mandarins down to those in the most humble circumstances to abandon it in all sincerity. Those who trampled the cross underfoot would be pardoned but once only. The edict ordered also that the churches and the priests' houses should be destroyed. In 1836, a fresh edict brought in the death penalty for every European priest "captured on a European ship in the act of landing in the kingdom; every priest seized in the interior of the country; those who hid them in their houses; and all public officials in whose territories one of these priests was seen, on the grounds that they would be guilty of failing to make the necessary searches in order to take him into custody". The Christian communities were forced to go underground and the missionaries into hiding. There were many victims of this persecution between 1833 and 1840. Fr Gagelin, who had given himself up in order not to compromise the faithful among whom he was hidden, was put to death by strangling. Fr Odorico and Mgr Delgado died in prison. Fr Marchand suffered the frightful torture of

the hundred wounds. Two vicars apostolic, Hernandez and Dumoulin-Borie and Frs Cornay and Fernandez were beheaded and Fr Jaccard strangled.

A few years of respite followed the accession of Thieu-Tri, Minh-Mang's son (1841). Not that he revoked the edicts, he merely applied them less rigorously. Exile or imprisonment took the place of the death penalty. One great missionary belonging to the Paris Foreign Missions, Mgr Retord, without further ado acted as though liberty had already been restored. He invited his clergy to celebrate public worship once more in the open. He himself, in company with several of his subordinates, undertook pastoral journeys. He officiated in makeshift churches, administered the sacraments in them and then summoned his congregation to join in processions at which public prayers were recited. Nothing hindered this movement, not even obstructions in the villages or the imprisonment of some of his priests on the instigation of zealous governors. And the bishop wrote: "our little boat, which was letting in water on all sides and seemed doomed to shipwreck, is now repaired."

After the death of Thieu-Tri (1847) his successor, Tu-Duc, promulgated three edicts whose aim was the extermination of the European and Vietnamese priests.

Every village suspected of giving hiding to any of them was surrounded and every house in it searched. So as not to compromise the faithful, the missionaries sought refuge in the mountains and the forests. In his successive hiding-places, Mgr Retord—the bishop of the *maquis*, as one of his biographers calls him—received news of the worst kind: churches demolished or burned, Christians tortured, condemned to exile, hard labour, beheading and, alas, sometimes when under torture, denouncing priests. Nothing could break his spirit. In his last hiding-place, a hut made of branches and leaves, he was drawing up a programme of restoration when he died on October 22nd, 1858.

After a Spanish bishop, Mgr Diaz, had been beheaded (July 20th, 1857), Spain and France organized an expedition

commanded by Admiral Rigoult de Genouilly. Turan was taken. The expeditionary force occupied Saigon (1859), then, in the absence of sufficient intelligence, dug itself in there. The outburst of violence which followed caused the year 1861 to be given the name Phan-Tap (dispersion). All the Christians were scattered among the pagan villages, while their own were sacked. The land they owned was shared out among the neighbouring pagan villages and their families broken up. The most barbarous clause in the edicts placed Christians on a par with mere cattle, and ordered that the two characters *Ta Dao* (perverted religion) should be cut into their left cheek, and into their right the name of the canton or the prefecture where they were to live. Amongst the martyrs of this period was one of outstanding character, a young priest of the Paris Foreign Missions, Théophile Vénard, who kept up his spirits even before his executioner. His exemplary submission to his fate, clearly expressed in his letters written in prison and later published, gave birth to large numbers of missionary vocations especially in the United States. The expeditionary force set out once more and in 1862 France and Tu-Duc signed the treaty of Saigon which ceded to France three provinces of Cochin-China and guaranteed religious freedom. In 1867, the whole of Cochin-China became a French possession.

When peace was restored, the nursing Sisters of the order of Saint Paul de Chartres arrived and then the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The nuns of the Lisieux Carmel had founded a convent in Saigon as early as 1861. It was the first Carmel in the Far East.

On the other hand, throughout the whole of Annam, the Christians continued to be ill-treated by the lettered classes with the support of Tu-Duc. Then again, bands of Chinese pirates were constantly playing havoc with Tonkin; France led two new expeditions there which finally brought about the establishment of her protectorate (the treaty of Hué, 1883).

What, we may ask, was the mental reaction at the time to this series of interventions in China and Indo-China? An article

in *L'Ami du clergé et du roi* (February 3rd, 1842) informs us. The Opium War had just begun and two missionaries had been arrested in Tonkin when the review wrote:

France has a few ships stationed in the China seas; they are insufficient to engage in hostilities against an organized power, but they would be adequate to make our name known among the barbarians and to save the lives of those Frenchmen who have marched forward with the advance guard of civilization. . . . And when Asia hears the sound of British cannon would it not surely be worth while for France to let the 400,000 Christians of these new missions know that they have found a protector?

Should the missionaries receive less consideration than the British business men who were selling the drug? It would have been a sorry affair to allow opium to go in and the Gospel to be rejected. This was the way Catholic circles reasoned. And the others, even though hostile to Catholicism, considered that the State had an inalienable right to avenge its nationals when they were ill-treated. But once the Western States had entered on this path, they were to find themselves caught up in a web of circumstance from which there could be no escape.

Meanwhile what of the missions? During the periods of warfare, the Christians, since they were accused of being in sympathy with the invaders, could not fail to be treated even worse than before. In Annam, the most deadly persecutions took place at the same time as the 1883 expedition. In the half century of persecution dating from Minh-Mang down to the treaty of Hué, 115 Annamite priests suffered martyrdom, and 100,000 Christians died for their faith. St Pius X and Pius XII beatified more than a hundred of them. Such was the quality of these Vietnam Christian communities that at the height of the final persecution they continued to grow. In the year 1885, the vicariates depending on the Paris Foreign Missions registered 19,705 baptisms.

When peace was restored it lasted for fifty years. This was the *pax gallica*, as Fr Brou had written, and it made possible the expansion of the work begun by sacrifice. The Sulpicians

took charge of the international seminary at Hanoi; the Canadian Redemptorists and the Franciscans devoted themselves to giving parish missions and retreats and to youth work. The Brothers of the Christian Schools and the Sisters of Saint Paul de Chartres developed their own foundations. Other congregations devoted themselves to teaching and social work—the Sisters of St Vincent de Paul, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, the Canonesses of St Augustine, the Sisters of Providence of Portieux, the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions. The centres of the contemplative life made their appearance. These were founded by the Trappists at Phuoc-Son, by the monks of Lérins and of La Pierre-qui-Vire throughout Vietnam, by the Carmelites at Hanoi, Hué, Phat-Diem and Tranh-Hoa, and by the Poor Clares at Vinh. Native vocations were developed in these houses. Finally, purely Vietnamese congregations were founded by the already existing European Votaries of the Cross, the Sisters of the Third Order of St Dominic, the Brothers of the Holy Family, the Catechist Brothers of Christian Doctrine.

The evangelization of the other territories of the Indo-Chinese peninsula—the plateaux to the west of the Annamite mountain chain, Cambodia, Siam (now Thailand), Burma—followed a parallel course to that of Vietnam. The first priests from the Paris Foreign Missions arrived in 1842 among the Banhars, one of the savage tribes of western Vietnam. They had much to suffer from the climate and the insalubrious nature of the country, and still more from the fickleness and superstition of the natives. A rebellion drove them out in 1867. They came back and by their pertinacity succeeded in founding a permanent mission.

The first mission to the Tais, the people of the mountainous regions of Tonkin, dates from 1878. After satisfactory beginnings, sickness carried away several of the missionaries and, in 1883 and 1884, an outburst of xenophobia, parallel with that in Vietnam, brought about the massacre of missionaries,



native priests and 2,000 Tai converts. Evangelization began again under Mgr Gendreau's direction but it achieved only slight successes during the nineteenth century. The same is true of Cambodia, Thailand and Laos, where Buddhism remained in a strong position.

In Burma, the vicariates of Pegu and Ava, which were entrusted to the Barnabites, numbered some 3,000 converts at the end of the eighteenth century. After half a century of virtual neglect, due to the shortage of missionaries, the mission was handed over, from 1839 to 1856, to the Oblates of Turin who were later succeeded by the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions.

One of these, Fr Bigandet, completely mastered the Burmese language. He was appointed vicar apostolic in 1858 and won the favour of the king of North Burma. He was then able to appeal for help to medical, nursing and teaching institutes: the Good Shepherd Sisters of Angers, the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Brothers of the Christian Schools. With their collaboration and in the course of a large number of pastoral journeys, he developed the former mission posts, established new ones and ordained fourteen Burmese priests.

The Church of Burma had been founded. In 1868, the initial vicariate was divided into three sections: East Burma, Central and South-west Burma. The Milan Foreign Missions were allotted the eastern region, the two others were left under the care of the Paris Foreign Missions. New districts were to be formed after 1914.

## CHAPTER XII

# THE INDIAN MISSIONS

### *THE BULL MULTA PRAECLARE AND THE GOANESE SCHISM*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Indian missions appealed in vain for help. Neither the warning of the co-adjutor of Goa, notifying the regent of Portugal that the secular priests of the diocese were by no means sufficient in number to minister to the spiritual needs of the Christians, nor the appeals made by the Government in 1819 and 1831, had persuaded a single secular or religious to set out for India. The future looked darker still when the mother country in 1855 suppressed the religious Congregations throughout the territory of the *patronato* without however renouncing any of the rights attached to the *patronato* itself.

At this date there were still 248 religious in the whole of India, of whom some twenty were Portuguese. The others, the "Goanese", although not deserving the severe judgements of the Propaganda missionaries, were for the most part lacking in zeal and preferred to remain in Goan territory rather than to go out on the mission. The majority, with insufficient training, could not hope to give a good account of themselves in controversies with the Protestant ministers who, on the whole, were carefully chosen and increasingly numerous after the British conquest. Further, the Portuguese *patronato* showed less and less willingness to honour its obligations. Goa had been without a bishop since 1831, Cranganore since 1777, Cochin since 1778, Mylapore since 1804. The Holy See began by begging Portugal to make appointments to the vacant sees or else to

renounce her rights. Having received no reply, Gregory XVI established five vicariates apostolic between 1831 and 1834: Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, Pondicherry and Madura. The bishops to be appointed would be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Portuguese ordinaries.

Justified though these appointments certainly were, they produced a situation pregnant with conflict, since the territories of the new dioceses continued to be within the sphere of the *Padroado*, which had not been abolished by any diplomatic instrument. In the meantime, Gregory XVI, with the advice of theologians and jurists, had put into final form the Bull *Multa praeclare* (1838) which confirmed the status of the vicariates, suppressed explicitly the four dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, Mylapore and Malacca, handed over their territories to the vicars apostolic and limited Goa's jurisdiction to the Portuguese possessions in India. As relations with Lisbon had been broken in 1833, the Roman decisions were completely unilateral. Neither the queen of Portugal nor the *Padroado* administration had been warned, except by the appeal of 1837, of the restrictions to their power which were now in force. Even the Bull *Multa praeclare* itself was not addressed to them.

Its publication was a bombshell. After the vicar apostolic of Goa, Carvalho, had questioned the Bull's authenticity and its obligatory nature, the Goanese clergy in the territories incorporated in the vicariates refused to take any notice of it, inveigled the faithful into rebellion and drove out the Jesuits from some of the parishes. This was the beginning of what has been called, with a certain amount of exaggeration, the "Goanese schism". With a few rare exceptions, the resisters had no intention of denying the authority of Rome. In any case, once Carvalho was dead, the resistance decreased and some of the priests made their submission to the vicars apostolic.

There was reasonable hope of peace all round, when the appointment of a new archbishop of Goa (vacant since 1831)

rekindled the quarrel. The queen, after the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1841, had presented her nominee, Mgr Silva Torres, to the Holy See which had accepted him. Gregory XVI handed two documents to the new archbishop. One was official and declared that no change had been introduced as regards the right of patronage. It had no difficulty in receiving the royal consent. The other, *Nuncium ad te*, was secret, and ordered Mgr Silva Torres under oath to obey the provisions of the Bull.

On his arrival at Bombay, the warm welcome he received from the Catholics and the respectful behaviour of the English Governor doubtless went to his head, for he forgot the contents of the secret letter and conducted himself as though he were the ordinary of the place and this in spite of the protests of the vicars apostolic who quoted the Bull *Multa praeclare* against him. It was useless for Gregory XVI to remind him of the circumstances surrounding his appointment, he persisted in his disobedience and took with him almost all the Goanese clergy.

#### FROM THE SYNOD OF PONDICHERRY TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

On their side, the vicars apostolic firmly maintained the positions given to them by the Bull and, while continuing to struggle against the dissidents, went on with their work. The most important event during this period was the Synod of Pondicherry (1845). It was summoned and presided over by Mgr Bonnand and was attended by his coadjutor elect, twenty-three priests of the Paris Foreign Missions Society, three Indian priests and Fr Bertrand, superior of the Madura mission. With a view to recruiting a native clergy, a teaching programme was drawn up. It recommended as a basis the establishment of good primary schools or at least the improvement of those already existing. Secondary education was to be undertaken by junior seminaries and its curriculum was to include Latin, Tamil, French as a cultural language, English to

facilitate relations with the administration, and the elements of history, geography, arithmetic, astronomy and physics. The pupils with an attraction towards the priesthood were to continue their higher studies at the seminary proper and were to spend one year in a missionary post between their philosophy and the tonsure, so that their vocation might be tested.

The work of the Synod was reported to the Congregation of Propaganda in a document entitled *Éclaircissement sur le synode* ("The Synod explained"), the author of which was a priest of the Paris Foreign Missions, Fr Luquet. It was welcomed and was used in giving final form to the Instruction of November 12th, 1845, a document of capital importance for the problem of a native clergy. One paragraph in it approved the school curriculum mentioned above, and declared its hope that when applied, it would recruit not only priests, but bishops too. Other paragraphs advised the abrogation of "the custom of reducing the native clergy to the state of an auxiliary clergy, a situation which they rightly consider distressing". On the contrary, "little by little, as far as is possible and prudently, the rule should be introduced that, among those labouring in the apostolate, whether they be natives or Europeans, and all other things being equal, promotion should be based on length of service in the mission". Hence, "honours, duties, ranks should be distributed with reference to seniority alone".

The programme drawn up by the Synod of Pondicherry could only be put into practice slowly and by instalments. The general inquiry ordered by Propaganda in 1858 (its findings were only made public in 1862) noted that four vicariates only had seminaries. That of Coimbatore had already produced five native priests for the mission and had seventeen pupils in training. That of Bangalore numbered twenty-nine seminarists, that of Bombay, about fifteen. The Pondicherry vicariate alone had a junior seminary and a seminary proper. They had already produced fourteen priests. On the Malabar coast, where there had been communities since the Middle Ages, founded by missionaries from the Near East, the three

vicariates of Verapoly, Mangalore and Quilon had possessed a native clergy for centuries. It was of both Latin and Syrian rite. The Syrian clergy was mediocre in quality because its members became priests since to do so was a family tradition rather than because they had genuine vocations. As regards seminaries, they were established gradually throughout the whole of India, except in the mountainous northern regions.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Jesuits organized a system of secondary and higher education. Their oldest institution, St Joseph's College at Bombay, dating from 1807, had more than 2,000 pupils at the beginning of the twentieth century. As early as 1835, the Jesuits had founded the St Francis Xavier College at Calcutta. It was given up because of Goanese opposition but re-opened in 1859 by the Belgian Jesuits. In the Madura district, where the French Jesuits, with exemplary pertinacity, had succeeded in settling in 1837 in spite of Goanese hostility, Fr Canoz established a college at Negapatam in 1844. The Goanese set fire to it. Fr Canoz then chose Trichinopoly as the site of a new foundation, St Joseph's College, which, in 1887, already had 1,000 pupils.

The University Colleges, fifty-four in number, and open to pupils of all creeds, have had considerable influence. The Trichinopoly college alone has produced 1,000 priests and ten bishops. The old pupils, even when they remain pagans or Brahmins, retain an esteem for and gratitude towards their masters. As a number of them hold high office in the administration and the liberal professions, they help to maintain an attitude favourable to Catholicism which counterbalances the opposite mentality, based on xenophobia.

While the vicariates apostolic were making progress, the "Goanese" did not disarm. The appeal or rather the second appeal for obedience addressed to them by Pius IX in 1853 was considered by the Lisbon Parliament as an attack on the age-old rights of Portugal, and Parliament made use of the occasion to represent its resistance as an act of good citizenship.

The Holy See nevertheless continued to seek for bases for

a Concordat. In 1857 the nuncio at Lisbon worked out a scheme which limited the rights of the *Padroado* to the diocese of Goa and the three suffragan sees, Cochin, Mylapore and Cranganore, but submitted to the approval of Lisbon plans for the creation of new dioceses and annulled the Bull *Multa praeclare*. The vicars apostolic protested so vigorously against a scheme which gave the victory to Portugal that Pius IX did not ratify it. But in 1861, with a view to promoting a peaceful solution, a brief granted extra-diocesan and delegated jurisdiction over the areas which the Bull had withdrawn from the *Padroado*, to the archbishop of Goa and his successors. In 1886, Leo XIII signed a new Concordat which gave to the archbishop of Goa the title of Patriarch of the Indies, but restricted the *patronato* rights to his diocese and his suffragans. Nevertheless, he himself continued to enjoy a personal jurisdiction outside these areas. New concessions in 1887 and 1890 in actual fact revived the double jurisdiction. In a word, a member of a diocese in the *Padroado* who was staying in an area under the jurisdiction of a vicar apostolic, ran the risk in case of illness of dying without the sacraments since only a *Padroado* priest had the right to administer them to him.

The Concordat of 1886 did however remove the last obstacle to the establishment of the hierarchy which Mgr Bonnard had asked for at the 1845 Synod. India was divided into eight ecclesiastical provinces: Goa, Colombo, Pondicherry, Verapoly, Madras, Calcutta, Agra and Bombay and these comprised nineteen bishoprics, three vicariates and four prefectures apostolic.

### THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES

In the middle of the nineteenth century the north of India was still almost totally ignorant of Christ's message. When it reached the small States of the mountainous area to the west of Bengal—Chotanagpur, Jashpur, Surguya and Udaipur—the missionaries who brought it had to endure so many trials

and yet introduced such admirable social reforms for the natives that their story reads like an epic. All its heroes were from Belgium. The first to come, the Jesuits, entered the country as chaplains to the British troops stationed at Ranchi, in 1876. They discovered tribes living in the mountains: the Kherias, Ouraons, Hos and Mundos who were completely animist, totally outside the sphere of Buddhism and living under the domination of sorcery.

Further, they were shamefully exploited by the great landed proprietors, the Zemindars and also by usurers. The Jesuits, and in particular Fr Lievens who arrived in 1885, took upon themselves the task of defending these victims of oppression. In so doing, they opened people's eyes to the value of Catholicism. Once they saw this, some of them asked to become members of the Church. They proved willing pupils. By 1890 Fr Lievens had baptized 79,000 of them. During a visit to Belgium where he returned to rest, he died of sheer exhaustion without seeing India again. But the torch passed into the hands of other Fathers who, inspired by the same zeal, were rewarded with similar successes, in spite of the smallness of their numbers.

The progress of Catholicism in Jashpur followed a similar pattern, but by a kind of osmosis. The tribes had heard of the battle for justice waged in Chotanagpur by Fr Lievens and they asked for missionaries to be sent to them. As the rajah had forbidden the latter to enter his territory, they settled on the frontier and there instructed and baptized the small groups who came to them. In 1907, there were already 12,900 Christians in the north of Jashpur. During this same year, Fr de Gruyse crossed the frontier to forestall the Lutherans. He soon died, worn out by his labours. He had converted 12,000 natives. These young Christian communities were to reach the fullness of their growth in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

The honour of continuing J. Vaz's apostolate in Ceylon belongs to the Goan Oratorians. Towards the middle of the



nineteenth century, the island numbered some 100,000 Christians who were distributed at the time between the vicariates of Colombo and Jaffna, entrusted to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Benedictines respectively. Colombo became an archdiocese in 1886 with suffragan sees at Jaffna, Kandy and, from 1893 onward, Galle and Trincomalee. The Oblates were assisted in their ministry by Jesuits, Premonstratensians and a diocesan clergy.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many other institutes had come to reinforce the missionary personnel; Salesians of Annecy and from Don Bosco's community, Missionaries of Milan and Mill Hill, Fathers of the Holy Cross and the Divine Word, Franciscans, Vincentians, Canons Regular of St Augustine, Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny, Tarbes and Annecy, catechists of Mary Immaculate, Franciscans of Mary, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the Holy Cross, Loretto, Sisters of Charity of Milan and many others. They all helped, in their respective spheres, to edify, catechize and to succour suffering humanity, in short to plant the Cross in the citadel of Hinduism and to earn respect for it there.

## CHAPTER X I I I

# THE KOREAN AND JAPANESE MISSIONS

It will be remembered that in 1827 Leo XII entrusted Korea to the Paris Foreign Missions, but so many gaps were made in their ranks by the Revolution and the Empire that the first party could not set out until 1832 and it was composed of only two priests, both volunteers, Frs Bruguière (with the title of vicar apostolic) and Maubant. The former died on the way, near the Korean frontier. Maubant succeeded in crossing the latter, disguised as a mourner. At the beginning of 1836 he arrived in Seoul where an eminent convert gave him hiding. Another volunteer, Fr Chastan, joined him and later in 1838, the new vicar apostolic, Mgr Imbert. In the following year, a maladroit convert fell into a trap and revealed the hiding-place of the bishop who gave himself up so as not to expose his hosts to legal proceedings. Frs Chastan and Maubant could not be found in spite of the tortures inflicted on the Christians in order to persuade them to denounce them. Mgr Imbert then began to experience scruples. Believing that if his missionaries as well as he himself were sacrificed, the persecution would cease, he wrote to tell them to give themselves up as befitted "the good shepherd on behalf of his sheep". He was immediately obeyed. His hopes were not realized. On September 21st, the first three missionaries to Korea were beheaded after suffering terrible tortures.

Once again, the Church of Korea was without priests. Three

came to its aid in 1845. Two were French, Mgr Ferréol and Fr Daveluy, and one a Korean, Andrew Kim, who had acted as their guide in the midst of the gravest dangers. He was martyred on September 16th, 1846. A slight easing of the situation gradually followed and lasted for some ten years. Then the interventions of Europe in the Far East caused a serious reversal. The party opposed to all contact with the West won the day and a violent persecution once again broke out. Two vicars apostolic and seven French priests were martyred and eight thousand Christians perished. The three missionaries who had escaped the massacres were obliged to move into China.

One of these fugitives had been appointed vicar apostolic. He did not wait for more peaceful times before exercising his ministry (1876). Two other missionaries succeeded in joining him, but, in 1878, he was imprisoned with one of his priests. They would probably have suffered the same fate as their predecessors had not the French Government intervened. It was only in 1886 that a treaty, negotiated by the French representative, obtained from Seoul freedom to profess their religion for those under French jurisdiction.

When the Korean vicariate was established in 1831, Propaganda asked the Paris Foreign Missions to undertake the evangelization of Japan at the same time. It was the expression of a wish and not an order. Japan had not withdrawn the edict closing her gates against all foreign influence. While waiting for them to reopen, the missionaries could do nothing except hold themselves in readiness, devote themselves to prayer and the study of the Japanese language. In 1848, Fr Fourcade settled at Nara, the capital of the chief island of the Riu-Kiu group situated between China and Japan. In 1850, Propaganda appointed him vicar apostolic, and a missionary from the Society came to join him. Two years later, they had baptized two converts.

Yet, after 1851, Japan, like China, had signed treaties on

the model of that of Whampou, with a series of countries, the United States, England, Holland and Russia. France also obtained permission for her nationals to enter the ports of Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Hakodate and Niigata as well as the towns of Yedo and Osaka. The missionaries arrived in 1859. One of them, Fr Petitjean, built a church at Nagasaki on the Oura hill and dedicated it to the twenty-six martyrs of 1597. We may imagine his deep emotion when, on March 17th, 1865, he found himself in the presence of a group of some twelve Christians descended from the converts of the sixteenth century. They were the vanguard of the secret Church of Japan, which had been miraculously kept in being by the fervour of the catechists who, from generation to generation, had handed on the essential prayers and the formula for baptism. It numbered about ten thousand Christians. When the Government heard of its existence, it once more put into operation (1868) the edicts proscribing Christianity. Everything was tried, imprisonment, deportation, threats and promises, in order to transform these exemplary Christians into apostates. Two thousand of them died. In 1875, the intervention of Western diplomats brought about the withdrawal of the edicts. By the end of this same year, the Christian body numbered 15,000 converts, evangelized by twenty-nine missionaries. It had therefore been increased by half during the persecutions.

The new spirit of toleration allowed the young Church to be openly organized. In 1876, the Holy See established two vicariates, Tokyo and Nagasaki. Churches were built. Japan, eager for scientific knowledge and material progress, and strongly inclined also towards secularism, followed in the footsteps of the West more boldly than did China, to the extent of promulgating a law in 1884 separating the Japanese State from the two traditional religions, Shintoism and Buddhism. Henceforward, Catholicism, hitherto only tolerated, was in possession of its freedom. The missionaries were able to organize an educational system. After 1887 Marianists made available the wealth of Western culture in three establish-

ments: the "Morning Star" at Tokyo, the "Star of the Sea" at Nagasaki, "The Bright Star" at Osaka. Institutes of religious women arrived: the Dames de Saint-Maur, the Sisters of Chauffailles and Saint-Paul of Chartres. In 1919, the Jesuits established at Tokyo their "High School of Wisdom" with its three departments—Letters, Philosophy, Advanced Commercial Studies. At the same time, the Dames de Saint-Maur organized secondary schools open to all young people.

In missionary work properly so called, the Paris Foreign Missions were helped by Spanish Dominicans, German and Spanish Jesuits, Franciscans, Fathers of the Divine Word and Salesians from Italy. Already before the 1914 War, this influx, so international in character, showed the Church under her true, universal aspect. This mark of universality became still more evident after the arrival of American missionaries and contemplative orders of both men and women.

The liberty granted in 1884 determined Leo XIII to write a letter in his own hand to the emperor in 1885. It was handed to the latter by Mgr Ozouf. The pope also decided to establish the hierarchy (1891). Tokyo was raised to the status of an archbishopric with three suffragan sees at Nagasaki, Osaka and Hakodate.

In spite of all this, the progress of Catholicism remained slow. In 1891, there were 45,000 Catholics and this figure had not yet doubled by 1914. The fact is that the separation of the State from the traditional religions had not prevented the birth of a pragmatic form of Shintoism based on loyalty to the imperial family and an unconditional devotion to the motherland. This creed was influential enough to make men believe that its requirements and Catholicism were incompatible. Yet, those persons who were able to override this specious objection generally became ardent converts. Japan is not the country for half-measures. Those of her people who have assimilated the words of Christ are capable of scaling by leaps and bounds the heights of spirituality.

## CHAPTER XIV

# THE AMERICAN MISSIONS

### *THE UNITED STATES*

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, paganism had disappeared—officially at least—from America, since the Indians and the Negro slaves had either been baptized, as in the territories dependent on Spain and Portugal, or entered in the registers of the Protestant ministers in those countries which had, or still were, possessions of the English Crown. In actual fact, a very large number of them, for lack of instruction, practised a crude syncretism, a mixture of Indian or African cults and a form of Christianity reduced to a few devotions in honour of the saints in the calendar. And again, from Mackenzie to Tierra del Fuego, there were still tribes living in a savage state, pushed further and further back by the brute force of European immigration, yet preparing themselves to defend their soil with the energy of despair. The missionaries (there were Protestants among them, such as Roger William) had often stood up in their defence during the previous centuries and they were to continue to do so in the nineteenth.

The evangelization of the North American Indians originated in the old Catholic centres established in the colonies with a European population: Maryland, Louisiana and Canada. Help in the work came from religious, both men and women, who had been dispersed by the Revolution and the wars of the Empire. They sought refuge in the United States, especially in Maryland, where the Toleration Act of 1649 had given Catholicism the right of entry. One of the first to arrive in

1790, a Sulpician, was made the head of the seminary of Baltimore by the vicar apostolic, John Carroll. He trained in it a clergy of truly apostolic spirit. In 1808, when Baltimore became an archbishopric with four suffragan sees—New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown—Mgr Carroll's task became so onerous that the work of reviving the mission to the Indians was given to the bishop of New Orleans, Mgr Dubourg, who was also a Sulpician. In the meantime, a delegation of Indians arrived from the prairies and asked for the "Black Robes" to come back to them.

A vanguard, composed of Belgian Jesuits, came to Florissant, where they built an establishment of the sort used in Canada during the seventeenth century, with its mill, cattle-sheds and barns. While the novices were there completing their theological training, useful information came in regarding the state of mind of the tribes. In the light of this, Fr Van Quickenborn decided to set out to meet them. He found little more than remnants of the former tribes, sodden with alcohol, nomadic and forced to be constantly on the run westwards as the wave of White immigration swept forward. All, or almost all, of them had heard of the "Black Robes", but, even among those who had been baptized, many had gone over to Protestantism. Two apostles set out to evangelize these unfortunate people. One, Fr Hoecken, went among the Indians of the Forest, the other, Fr de Smet, among those of the Prairie. The latter, "the man with the most influence over the Indian tribes in the whole of the North-West", had few failures except with the Sioux. His apostolate extended as far as the Rocky Mountains where he worked among the Flatheads who had appealed to him to come to them in 1840. He returned among them twice, on the second occasion in 1844 with four Fathers, two brothers and six nuns. These reinforcements made it possible to extend the apostolate to the majority of the tribes, so that by the middle of the century the Rocky Mountains mission numbered some 3,400 converts.

The influence of Fr de Smet and his brethren was revealed

in all its vast range when, in 1870, General Grant inaugurated his policy of peace with the Indians. Those among them who, it was claimed, had joined Protestant bodies although they were Catholics, sent delegates to Washington to ask, in the name of the liberty which was written into the Constitution, for the return among them of the "Black Robes". They eventually obtained what they wanted, thanks to the American episcopate and the Catholic missionary societies of the United States.

The majority of the Negroes in the south, where they were so numerous, were practising Protestants or more or less influenced by a Protestant tradition. The Catholic Church had a duty to come to the help of those who were baptized and to attempt to convert the others. The Mill Hill priests devoted themselves to this apostolate. After establishing parishes in the south, they founded in 1892 the Society of St Joseph (the Josephites) the first missionary institute exclusively consecrated to the evangelization of the American Negroes.

### *THE EPIC OF THE OBLATES IN THE FAR NORTH*

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were responsible for the apostolate among the Indians of Oregon and Columbia. Fr Ricard came out as a pioneer with six religious in 1847 and founded a mission on the southern point of Puget Bay on the spot where the town of Olympia was later to be built. The Oblates next moved forward into the lower valley of the Fraser River, where they built the missions at Sainte-Marie, Fort Hope, Fort Yale and New Westminster.

But the chief field in which the epic of the Oblates was to unfold was the Far North where, however, it profited by the admirable preparatory work which had already been done by Canadians alone.

The point of departure was an appeal by Lord Selkirk, a shareholder in the Hudson Bay Company, to the bishop of Quebec, Mgr Plessis. He asked him for a zealous and intelli-



gent ecclesiastic to minister to the religious needs of the half-caste trappers and various other workmen who were Catholics. They lived in the extreme south of Winnipeg. The priest chosen for the work, Fr Provencher, received such a promising welcome that the Holy See at once formed the project of using this advance post as a base for the whole of North-west Canada. Fr Provencher became Mgr Plessis' coadjutor. At first he exercised his ministry among the half-castes then, after 1830, he sent some of his priests among the Indians.

In 1844, Mgr Provencher, then vicar apostolic of the whole of Canada, asked the bishop of Montreal, Mgr Bourget, to send him some of the Oblates who had just gone forward with unheard-of daring, as far as the territories in the neighbourhood of lakes Abitibi and Timiskaming where they had converted a few fur hunters. The local superior considered that this was a rash undertaking and informed Mgr de Mazenod, the superior general of the Oblates, of his misgivings in the following terms: "We are 2,000 miles from the Red River. Communications are extremely difficult. Our men will lead a lonely life full of all kinds of dangers." The answer came—and it was peremptory:

I cannot understand how you can have been so strangely mistaken in the matter of the Red River missions. Yet it seems to me that I spoke clearly and precisely enough to let it be understood by you that this was not a mere suggestion to be examined and discussed but a plan on which I had come to a decision and whose execution I am entrusting to you.

This memorable summons opened the pages of the epic of the Oblates, in which religious who wanted to obey their founder hastened to play their part. Already during the summer of 1846, two Oblates, one of them Fr Taché, a Canadian but of French stock, had set out; they spent the winter at l'Ile-à-la-Crosse, 625 miles to the north-west of St Boniface. The next year, a new leap forward took Fr Taché as far as lake Athabaska. He was the first Catholic priest to

appear in these regions where he was welcomed by a few Indians with these words: "We have long desired to see you face to face. Take pity on us and teach us how to become good."

After four months spent among these men of goodwill, he had to return to l'Ile-à-la-Crosse, but other Oblates came, some to consolidate the first foundations, the others to push on further towards the polar circle. In 1856, Fr Faraud founded the St Joseph mission in the neighbourhood of Fort Resolution on the Great Slave Lake. In 1858, Fr Grollier founded the Sacred Heart mission near Fort Simpson, after a journey down the Mackenzie. The Oblates were beyond the sixtieth parallel north. One more forward leap and Fr Grollier reached the edge of the Arctic circle at Fort Good Hope. There he laid the foundations of the mission of Our Lady of Good Hope and wrote on May 20th, 1860, to Mgr de Mazenod: "Everyone here thinks that the winter this year has been mild. We haven't had a temperature lower than 48° below zero (Fahrenheit=54.5 degrees of frost.—*Trans.*) Would they think this was not much, at Marseilles?"

During the summer, he chose Fort Norman as the centre for a new mission, St Teresa's, and then he went on beyond the Arctic circle as far as Fort McPherson.

From roughly the year 1860, came a period of settling in and consolidation. It was less spectacular than the daring initial thrusts, but it probably called for greater sacrifices. Three prelates, among others, distinguished themselves. Their combined episcopates cover almost a century. Mgr Taché had guided Mgr Grandin in his early years; Mgr Grandin himself was consecrated a bishop in 1859 at the age of twenty-nine. Mgr Grouard was a pupil of his and he died on March 7th, 1931, at Grouard, the chief town of the Grouard vicariate. It must be noted indeed that these Oblates were such discoverers and builders that their memory is for ever engraved upon the map. Between the Great Slave and the Great Bear Lakes, six

others bear the name of six of these Oblates: Mazenod, Rey, Séguin, Clut, Grandin, Taché. And how many places could be named whose "patron" is one or other of these pioneers who discovered them?

It has been suggested that these were vocations awakened by the lure of journeys by dog-sledge through the blizzards. But the truth is that in the accounts that have come down to us from these apostles of the snows (Mgr Grandin's in particular), we see men who often went hungry, who deprived themselves so as to feed and clothe the Indians, who sometimes coughed up their own lungs, but whose faces shone with joy when, at the meal served for the bishop on his rounds, they could add a white partridge or a rice pudding seasoned with that rarest of products which sugar then was.

They were never discouraged. In 1912, two Oblates of Kewatin, one of them Fr Turquetil, were about to set off for the spiritual conquest of the Eskimos. After four years of entirely unproductive work at Chesterfield, their vicar apostolic had recalled them, when there was a mysterious change and conversions that had been quite unexpected took place. The two religious attributed this to the prayers they had made to a Carmelite nun who had died at Lisieux in 1897 and whose renown as a wonder-worker had reached even their ears. From Chesterfield the hand of grace touched Pand Inlet at Churchill, Azavick at Coppermine. This miracle, when it became known at Rome, was to contribute its share in the canonization of St Teresa of the Child Jesus, patroness together with St Francis Xavier of the missions and the missionaries of the whole world.

While the brutal and pitiless wave of European immigration drove the half-castes and the Indians to the north and west, the Oblates undertook the defence of these victims of oppression. Mgr Grandin, again, endeavoured to "keep them on the path of obedience and duty and to see that they were treated justly".

*SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES*

In Mexico and South America, the history of the Missions in the nineteenth century is divided into two sections. The first, contemporary with the wars of independence which were to give birth to the South American Republics and put an end to the system of *patronato*, was marked by great upheavals and severe trials. Subsequently, new missions were set up on the basis of concordats concluded between the Holy See and the new States.

Officially, the missions to the Indians had disappeared in Bolivia in 1815, in Chile in 1817, in Ecuador and Peru in 1824 and in Mexico in 1833-4. But they had left behind a whole mass of foundations which still arouse the admiration of tourists today. And they could also take pride in the fact that they had improved the standard of living of the tribes by acclimatizing food-producing crops and domesticated animals from the old world.

Nor were the missions entirely abandoned. If the apostolate to the Indians was able to continue for a time, the credit was due to the Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans and Augustinians who stayed on the spot, and to the Missionary colleges of the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1686, and re-organized in 1797. In them, masters of proved worth trained a missionary *élite* in an atmosphere of deep spirituality and did not neglect the study of the native languages.

In this transitory period, while nothing took the place officially of the missions of the *patronato*, certain religious distinguished themselves. An example is the Franciscan Andrew Herrero. In 1835, after launching an appeal to the whole Order of St Francis, he brought to Bolivia twelve Italian Franciscans. He returned a little later with eighty-three missionaries who established colleges and restored mission work among the Indians in Peru, Chile and Bolivia. But they were not numerous enough to keep the missions in being and quite soon they found themselves obliged to confine their ministry to the

established Christian communities. In 1842, Colombia appealed for Jesuits, but expelled them eight years later. The Dominicans returned to Peru as did a few Jesuits to Paraguay. The place which South America acquired in the missionary movement owed its importance, towards the middle of the century, to the fact that the Far East continued to be closed and the harbours on the Pacific coasts were ports of call for the increasingly large numbers of missionaries on their way to Oceania.

On the debit side must be placed the political instability of the new States, the continual threat represented by their anti-clericalism and the uncertain status of the missions and the missionaries, who were without an organization to replace the *patronato* system.

Both Pius VIII and Gregory XVI had wished to avoid humiliating these young republics, full of the memories of the foundations made under the old monarchies, by imposing on them a missionary code. Gradually, concordats came into operation under Pius IX. There was a paragraph guaranteeing State financial aid for the evangelization of the Indians which, as such, was to be organized by Propaganda. It was on this basis and with varying fortunes that the apostolate to the Indians recommenced. And the Indians themselves had not fallen victims to former massacres in any great numbers, since today their descendants represent more than half the population of Ecuador, Central America and Bolivia (where they number 60 per cent).

In 1847, at the request of the Government of Chile, Pius IX sent twelve Italian Capuchins to evangelize the Indians of Arauco. These missionaries were followed by Capuchins from Bavaria. The mission is in a flourishing state today. During the same pontificate, in 1855 and 1856, two parties of Franciscans arrived from Italy to undertake the same work among the Indians of the Argentine.

In the West Indies, after the vicariates of Guadeloupe and Martinique had been attached as suffragan sees to the

Bordeaux diocese, and those of the Windward Islands to the diocese of Port of Spain (Trinidad), only the Caribbean Sea mission depended on Propaganda, which entrusted British Guiana to the English Jesuits, and the missions in those areas of Guiana and the West Indies under Dutch administration to Dutch Redemptorists and Dominicans.

In Brazil, after 1860, the Franciscans evangelized the Indians of the interior, the Capuchins those on the coast, and the Dominicans those of Upper Araguay from 1880 onward. The revolution of 1889 restored their freedom to the religious Orders and some of Don Bosco's Salesians arrived in Matto Grosso in 1890 (in 1910, they were to settle on the Rio Negro), Holy Ghost Fathers at Teffe in Amazonia (1897), Fathers of the Divine Word among the Coroados Indians and the Botokudi, German Franciscans (1903) at Santarem among the Mundurucu, Italian Capuchins among the Indians of Parana and São Paulo, Belgian Benedictines on the Rio Branco, and in 1911, French Dominicans at Conceição on the Paraguay river.

In Peru, three prefectures apostolic were founded in 1899: Saint-Leon of the Amazon, Ucayali, Urumbamba of the Mother of God. The first Augustinians arrived in 1900.

Salesians arrived at the southern tip of South America in 1879; Leo XIII sent them when the Argentine Government asked him for religious to instruct and pacify the Patagonians. They were very unwelcome at first but subsequently their success was sufficient to allow them to extend their work as far as Tierra del Fuego. It was in this group of islands, separated from the mainland by the straits of Magellan, that Mgr Cagliero devoted himself with exemplary charity to the Fuegians whose race was well on the way to becoming extinct.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the north and centre of Patagonia became a vicariate and Tierra del Fuego a prefecture apostolic. And what a thankless task the Salesians have undertaken in this region!

Since by the end of the nineteenth century the political situation in Colombia had become stable, various institutes

settled there: Augustinians and Recollects in 1890, de Montfort Fathers in 1903, Vincentians in 1905, Claretians in 1908, Carmelites and Jesuits (the latter had been expelled in 1850) in 1918 and priests from the Burgos seminary in 1920. These apostles, most of them from Italy and Spain, were helped by priests trained in the seminary of the Foreign Missions at Yarumal (Colombia), which was founded in 1927. In 1928, the Colombian State granted an official status to the missionaries, on condition that they civilized scattered and backward groups and made them fit to take their part in the life of the nation.

## CHAPTER XV

# THE OCEANIA MISSIONS

### *THE PICPUS FATHERS IN EASTERN OCEANIA*

Oceania with its islands large and small scattered over a sea area equal to one-third of the surface of the globe, possesses a group of missions that is unique. It is the largest and yet one of the least populous; in it the spirit of the pioneers can still find (in New Guinea for instance) plenty of scope today. And in no other region have the conflicts between papists and anti-papists taken on such dimensions.

Before the nineteenth century, Catholicism had scarcely made an appearance there except in the New Hebrides (and then only spasmodically), which had been visited by the Franciscans who accompanied Quiros. The discovery of Oceania was scarcely completed at the end of the eighteenth century and the descriptions embellished with lewd engravings which had been published by Wallis and Carteret (1766), Bougainville (1768) and above all Cook (1769-78) conveyed the idea that these islands were earthly paradises. So much so that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tahiti, Otaïti as it was called, was a symbol for a country of dreams, liberation and beatitude, the garden of Eden regained. Of this idyllic picture, the missionaries were to find little more than the countryside, the vegetation, the light and the waters. The natives, when seen at close quarters, were in general not at all like the pleasant Aoutourou whom Bougainville had brought back with him to France. The Whites were whalers, dealers in sandalwood, adventurers of all kinds whom the missionaries



were to find in all sorts of odd places, "a crowd of European and American deserters", as one of them has said, "roaming all over the islands and corrupting what remains of the good physical and moral qualities of these peoples". The missionaries were often to find their work thwarted by such men. And finally they were to be exposed to the hostility and the calumnies of the Methodist ministers who had preceded them by some ten years in different parts of Oceania.

This was the case in the Hawaiian islands, an important port of call for the whaling-ships. The American Methodists had already established missionaries when, in 1819, the chaplain of the *Uranie* baptized two of the chiefs. In 1827, a properly constituted mission arrived: three Picpus Fathers (one of whom, Fr Bachelot, had the powers of a prefect apostolic) and three brothers of the same order. The Methodist party succeeded in having them expelled when they had baptized a few persons. Liberty of worship could not be established in the Hawaiian islands before 1839. And it was there that, a little later, Fr Damien was to die a leper, in the service of the lepers.

In spite of the initial check, the Congregation of Propaganda immediately amplified its plan of action and in 1833, raised a Picpus Father, Mgr Rouchouze, to the dignity of vicar apostolic of Eastern Oceania.

In 1834, two religious of the order, Frs Caret and Laval, landed in the Gambier Islands. The natives tried to kill them in a bush fire. They succeeded in escaping and then completed a Franco-Polynesian lexicon which enabled them to instruct children and soon after adults with unprecedented success. At Christmas 1834, one of the Gambier islands, Akamarou, burned its idols. Aukenia soon followed suit and shortly after, Mangavera, the great island, whose sovereigns were baptized. In two years, the whole archipelago had been converted and Mgr Jerome Rouchouze set up his vicariate there.

In the Marquesa Islands, however, two Picpus Fathers who landed in 1839, met with considerable resistance. Shortly after, disaster overtook the Picpus missions. The ship in which Mgr

Rouchouze had set sail and which was bringing large reinforcements—five religious, one subdeacon, seven Brothers and ten nuns, all belonging to the Picpus institute—sank with all her passengers shortly after passing the Island of St Catherine facing Brazil.

Yet the spiritual conquest continued just the same. Although on Tahiti it had experienced a setback because of the Pritchard affair, it saw better days when Mgr Jaussen, the first vicar apostolic of Tahiti, came out in 1849. Today, a quarter of the population is Catholic.

The long and patient apostolate of Mgr Dordillon was needed to undo the scandal caused by the apostasy of the king of one of the Marquesas. Mgr Dordillon was both a missionary and a scholar. He arrived in the archipelago in 1846 and died there in 1888, as vicar apostolic.

The evangelization of the Tuamotou Islands began in 1847 and was completed in 1889. Easter Island owes much to Mgr Jaussen who wrote a remarkable monograph on the island itself and its mysteries. It was later detached from the Tahiti vicariate after its annexation by Chile.

There was still the Cook archipelago. When the Picpus Fathers settled there in 1894, though without much success because of the very strong position Protestantism had acquired in the islands, the work entrusted to their zeal had received its foundations.

### *THE MARISTS IN WESTERN OCEANIA*

The western part of Oceania, that is, Polynesia with Melanesia and Micronesia, was raised to the status of a vicariate (Western Oceania) by Gregory XVI in 1836 and was in the hands of the Marists, the missionary institute then recently founded by Fr Colin. The first bishop, Mgr Pompallier, landed in New Zealand in January 1838 and sent Fr Bataillon to Wallis Island and Fr Chanel to Futuna. The events that had taken place in the Gambier Islands were re-enacted here, though at a slower pace. On Futuna, there was

a general conversion, largely due to the martyrdom of Fr Chanel (1841) which brought about an extraordinary wave of conversions far beyond the island itself, while on Wallis Island, conversions were due to the inexhaustible charity of Fr Bataillon, an apostle who put an end to the unending wars between the chiefs by acting as intermediary between them, and who forgave those who had intended to murder him. Rome appointed him as vicar apostolic in 1843. He died on Wallis Island among his people like an Old Testament patriarch, on April 10th, 1877.

The evangelization of Tonga shed lustre on one of his disciples, Fr Chevron, who, by using the same methods as his master and thanks to his perfect knowledge of Polynesian languages, overcame the opposition of the local feudal chief, a Protestant petty tyrant who called himself the "Napoleon of the Pacific". On the other hand, another pioneer, Fr Breton, had no success during his lifetime at Vavaou, a small archipelago depending on Tonga, where he lived as a hermit until 1881. But his death was mourned by the whole archipelago. Even the Protestant ministers wanted to be present at the funeral of the man who has been called the anchorite of Oceania.

The Marists entered the Samoan Islands in 1845. Their founding of a mission there under the direction of Fr Elloy, made it possible to consider that the evangelization of western Polynesia was completed.

That of Melanesia began in 1844, when Fr Bataillon sent Fr Bréhéret to the Fiji Islands. There were hardly any conversions before 1860, but nine years later the number of catechumens was 4,000 and, by 1880, 9,000. The prefecture apostolic of Fiji, which was established in 1863, became a vicariate in 1888 and included the Island of Rotuma.

The evangelization of New Caledonia demanded of the Marists continual patience, apostolic fervour and cost them one martyr. Mgr Douarre and four religious entered the island at the port of Balade in 1843 and had to leave again soon after

in order to avoid a general massacre (one Brother had already been beaten to death) plotted by the natives who considered them responsible for a famine on the island. In 1849, Mgr Douarre again landed but this time in the south. But once more and for the same reason, he was forced to fall back on the island of Pines to the south-east. It became entirely Christian. While he was there, he received orders from Rome to take charge of the Samoa mission and to wait for better times before returning to New Caledonia. But he was drawn to the Caledonians, as St Patrick had been to the Irish. He was at Balade again in 1851 with a few missionaries as resolute as himself and a group of natives whom they had taken away with them when they had left on the previous occasion and thoroughly indoctrinated in the meantime. With the help of these converts the conversion of the island made rapid strides. Then the time came when the colonists, whose numbers were continually on the increase, and the administration drove the natives into the interior. The Marists went with them and tried to group them in "Reductions". But their ministry among the Whites absorbed so much of their time that they were unable to give themselves wholly to this apostolate. Recently, they have found it possible to return to it with some success.

In the New Hebrides, where the Marists arrived in 1886, a population survived decimated by malaria, alcoholism and cannibalism. Yet they succeeded in obtaining a few conversions.

It was in the Solomon Islands that they underwent their greatest trials. The islanders were ferocious by nature and, in the early days, did not distinguish between the missionaries and white men of doubtful character against whom they fiercely defended their independence.

Mgr Épalle, the first vicar apostolic of the archipelago, was beaten to death a few minutes after he had landed on Isabella Island (December 12th, 1845). At San Cristobal, another small island, Fr Montrouzier in 1845, and in 1847 two religious

and a brother, perished victims of a cannibal feast. Finally, malaria decimated this first mission. The Marists received orders to evacuate the archipelago in 1852. They returned at the end of the century and on this occasion were given a hearing.

### *THE ISSOUDUN FATHERS IN NEW GUINEA*

In New Guinea, on the other hand, evangelization is far from complete, but where else in the whole world has it met more obstacles? Even Torres in his time, when crossing the straits to which his name has been given, had noted that around this island, one of the largest in the world, navigation was exceedingly difficult. When the Italian naturalist, d'Albertis, provided precise information concerning its relief, its snow-covered mountain tops (and this in the Tropics) close together and separated by steep chasms covered with an impenetrable undergrowth, New Guinea seemed to offer more obstacles to discovery than any other territory in the world. As for its inhabitants, it was gradually to be discovered (and there still remains a great deal of work to be done in this connection) that they belong to human groups which have been cut off from the rest of mankind for thousands of years. They have distinguishing characteristics of every kind and obey a moral code which authorizes infanticide, homicide, cannibalism and polygamy. The planisphere made for the Holy See in the eighteenth century was therefore not far from the truth when—although from hearsay alone—it described New Guinea as *l'Isla de las malas gentes*.

Gregory XVI had included it in the Marists' mission field. They tried to approach it via Woodlark Island in 1848 and were decimated by fever. Priests from the Milan Foreign Missions relieved them in 1852 but after the murder of Fr Mazzuconi in 1855 they were obliged to give up any hope of remaining.

For more than twenty-five years, the Congregation of Propaganda made no further move in the matter. Then, in 1881, it

appealed to the Congregation of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart of Issoudun. Three religious, one of whom was Fr Navarre, set out during the same year with this final blessing from Leo XIII: "Go without fear, it is the Church who is sending you."

Their destination was Papua, that is, the English area of New Guinea. After a halt at New Britain, they landed on Thursday Island in the Torres Straits, then on Yule Island (1885), a small holm lying nearest to the great island itself. Frs Navarre and Verjus organized there a base from which to operate. Fr Verjus went forward and established the first mission post in Papua on Moou, three hours from Yule in a rowing-boat (1889). Meanwhile, Yule itself, now wholly Christian, served as the residence of the vicar apostolic. This office had been given to Mgr Navarre and soon after Mgr Verjus was appointed his coadjutor. He, with the help of a few pioneers, opened some ten mission stations in the Mekeo country, beyond Moou. Nothing could stop them, neither the climate which gives almost no respite from attacks of fever, nor famine, a constant threat, nor the hostility of the natives. He returned to Europe to inform the pope of the first results of the mission (and these were not to be despised, since a Christian village was in existence at St Anne in 1891), and died worn out by his labours.

In 1894, Papua had already taken a toll of twelve victims among the youngest and most active members of the Issoudun Congregation. But new recruits were constantly coming forward. Mention must be made of at least one of these, Fr de Boismenu, Mgr Navarre's successor. He was the moving force behind a simultaneous movement which included discovery, the erection of mission posts even in the most unlikely places, and the deepening of the Christian life by well-prepared catechisms in the various dialects, and the training of good catechists.

Some ten years after the arrival of the Issoudun Fathers, the German Fathers of the Divine Word began to evangelize the

eastern and western regions of New Guinea. There also, through suffering and sacrifice, they founded firmly established Christian communities before 1914.

In New Britain and New Ireland, the islands to the north-west of New Guinea, the Issoudun Fathers experienced the same ups-and-downs as in Papua.

In Micronesia, they settled on the Caroline and Marianne Islands in 1886 and 1891 respectively. These islands had already been evangelized in the eighteenth century by missionaries from the Philippines. In 1888, the Issoudun Fathers were on the Gilbert Islands. The evangelization of Guam island was undertaken in 1911 by American Capuchins. In a word, immediately before the Great War, there was no island in Oceania which had not heard the good news of the Gospel.

## CHAPTER XVI

# THE MISSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST

The lot of the uniate Oriental Christians gave more anxiety than ever to the Holy See from the moment when, in 1821, the year of the rising in Greece, the dismemberment of Turkey began. The interference of the European Powers had brought Turkish animosity to a pitch of frenzy. The most appalling massacres of Christians ravaged the whole East, in Syria (1860), the Balkans (1878), Armenia (1894-6), Adana (1908) and finally, the massacre which lasted from 1915 to 1919 throughout the ruins of the Ottoman empire.

As a general rule, the Turkish Government separated Catholics from Rome by placing them under the authority of patriarchs of the Orthodox Church. Gregory XVI took care at once to provide them with some support by creating, between 1832 and 1839, three Apostolic Delegations to cover the whole of the Near East. At the same time, thanks to the re-establishment of the religious Orders in France, missionaries arrived in sufficient numbers to revive old foundations that had had to be abandoned after the French Revolution. They also established new ones. The Vincentians reopened their college at Constantinople and inaugurated others at Smyrna, Santorin and Antoura.

The Jesuits returned to Beirut in 1839, and then established at Ghazir in 1846, a central seminary open to all rites in communion with Rome. The Brothers of the Christian Schools arrived in 1840, the Daughters of Charity at Constantinople in



1839 and in 1847 at Beirut where they were followed shortly after by the Sisters of St Joseph of the Apparition.

This growth of educational foundations was due in large measure to the campaigns of a young Orientalist, Eugène Boré, who had returned from a fact-finding journey to Persia (1838) convinced that to rescue these unfortunate Christians from ignorance and superstition was a task of the utmost urgency. After his own entry into the Vincentian Congregation, of which he later became Superior General, he was able to work directly for the carrying out of the programme he had drawn up.

The Latin hierarchy had disappeared in the thirteenth century after the withdrawal of the Franks. Pius IX re-established it at Jerusalem in 1847 and at Athens in 1875.

Other factors also helped to strengthen the positions of the Latins: the development of the missions in Mesopotamia which, thanks to the Italian Dominicans, stretched from Mosul to Van, Seert and Djeziri; the revival of the old Carmelite missions in Baghdad; the arrival of the Spanish Capuchins at Diarbekir, then at Orfa and Mardin; the establishment of an Apostolic Delegation in Persia, distinct from that in Mesopotamia, which was entrusted to the Vincentians; finally, the increase in the numbers of educational, medical and charitable institutions.

The Orthodox hierarchy had not replied to the invitation to attend the Vatican Council sent them by Pius IX. Hence Leo XIII showed all the more solicitude towards the uniate Oriental hierarchy. He gave them the means to recruit and to train a clergy of quality for each rite. Seminaries were therefore established—in Cairo by the Jesuits for the Copts (1897), at Constantinople (1881) by the Capuchins for all the rites, at St Anne in Jerusalem by the White Fathers for the Melkites, at Mosul (1885) by the Dominicans for the Syro-Chaldeans, at Zeitenlik (1885) by the Vincentians for the Bulgarian clergy. The idea behind these foundations is contained in a phrase which Leo XIII, the Pope of Union, was fond of repeating:

"The East will be converted by the Easterns." At Rome itself, he founded a seminary for the Armenians (1883) and, in 1891, another for the Maronites. He restored the College of St Athanasius for the Greeks and founded bursaries for the Syrians at the Urban College. His letter *Orientalium dignitas* (1894) guaranteed to the Eastern Churches their traditional privileges. A *Motu proprio* (1895) recommended the apostolic delegates to treat the patriarchs with all due deference, to have at least two meetings a year with them and to take care to maintain good relations between the Latin missionaries and the Oriental clergy. With this project still in mind, Leo XIII suppressed in the East the title of prefect apostolic and replaced it by that of mission superior. Further, the Latin clergy were allowed attach themselves to this or that oriental rite as occasion arose.

Benedict XV brought this conciliatory policy to full fruition when, in 1917, he founded the Sacred Congregation of the Eastern Church, thus granting autonomy to the special section for the affairs of the Eastern Church which had been established by Pius IX in 1862 as part of the Sacred College of Propaganda.

## CHAPTER XVII

# THE INDONESIAN MISSIONS

A new era opened for the evangelization of Indonesia when, in 1807, the king of Holland, Louis-Napoleon, granted freedom of worship in the Low Countries, and two Dutch priests expelled from the Cape by England were able to land at Java. In 1826, Propaganda established the Batavia prefecture which was raised to vicariate status in 1842 and had within its jurisdiction all the Dutch possessions.

In actual fact, during the first half of the nineteenth century, apostolic work was almost confined to Java because of the poverty of the missionaries and the restrictions enforced by the general Government which authorized preaching only after the reception of a special permit which could always be cancelled.

The Missions *ad infideles*, properly so-called, began at Borneo, where a shipwrecked man, Cuarteron, who had vowed, if he were saved, to devote himself to the apostolate, became prefect apostolic of Labuan and North Borneo. He recruited no more than two missionaries, Italians, and they abandoned him. After his death in 1879, the English Mill Hill Fathers took over the mission he had founded.

Fr Sanders visited Dutch Borneo in 1851, but the first mission was that founded by the Jesuits in 1883. At Banka, where there were Catholic coolies among the workers in the tin mines, a missionary took up residence in 1853. In the following year, another went to Sumatra. However, the island had no organized mission before the Jesuits established one in 1888. They were succeeded by Capuchins in 1911.

The process was the same in the Celebes. After a period when the apostolate was limited to annual visits by one priest working alone, Manado, the Kei Islands and Macassar had their missions in 1885, 1888 and 1891 respectively.

It was the little islands of Sunda, Flores, Timor which produced the richest harvests. The first visitor, Fr Sanders, found there in 1860 enough Catholics (several thousands) to establish a parish at Laratoeka. In 1862, he received support from the Jesuits, among whom was Fr Le Cocq d'Armandville, who has remained famous for his conversion of fifteen pagan villages. Flores numbered 14,000 Catholics in 1875 and the mission was increasingly successful in the years that followed. And this success was in sharp contrast with the forlorn state of the other islands in the group and especially to the west, Bali and Lombok, where the missionaries were forbidden to land because of Moslem hostility.

After the middle of the nineteenth century these missions received the help of teaching congregations of women: Ursuline Sisters of Venray, Franciscan Sisters of Heythuisen, Sisters of Charity of Our Lady of Mercy of Tilburg, Sisters of the Company of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, and there were also the Brothers of the Congregation of St Aloysius of Dudenbooth.

Holland did not rest content with sending missionaries only. She supported them through her charitable societies such as the Missionary Association for Dutch East India and by a constant stream of prayer in the Missionary Union of the Clergy modelled on similar societies existing in many Catholic countries.

The division of the original Batavia vicariate began in 1902 and continued at a rapid rate after the Great War. It brought about the opening of seminaries and shortly afterwards, the rise of an Indonesian clergy.

## CHAPTER XVIII

# THE EUROPEAN MISSIONS

The European missions in modern times took care of the Catholics whose intention it was to remain faithful to Rome in the States and territories where the Reformation had triumphed, England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, a part of Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. They included also the Catholics of Latin rite in Poland and the Catholics of Ruthenian rite whom, in both Poland and Russia, the orthodox Russian Church had not succeeded in winning over.

In England, the position of the Catholics, scattered and very small in numbers, remained lamentable until O'Connell's campaigns had secured their emancipation throughout the United Kingdom and the British colonies. Once this was done, the revival of Catholicism began to expand, thanks to the Oxford movement for which Newman was responsible and which Wiseman supported at the English College in Rome, thanks too to the fervour and pugnacity of the Irish Catholics who had settled in considerable numbers on English soil. From 120,000 members in 1800, the Catholic community in England rose to 700,000 by 1850 (450,000 Irish). Pius IX gave recognition to this progress by substituting an archbishopric with ten suffragan sees for the eight vicariates.

Catholicism in Scotland passed through similar stages. After more than two centuries of oppression, the Relief Bill of 1793, a measure due to the efforts of George Hay, restored to it the ownership of its property. In 1829, the Emancipation Bill made it free and the Irish immigration reinvigorated it and

brought about the establishment of numbers of religious communities of both men and women. Leo XIII re-established the hierarchy in 1878.

At the end of the eighteenth century, in 1775, the major part of North Germany and all Scandinavia formed the vicariate of the North, which was divided several times during the nineteenth century. Propaganda separated Norway and Sweden from the vicariate in 1783, the year in which an edict granted to foreigners alone the right to practise any religion other than Lutheranism. Sweden then had a few hundred Catholics. In 1842, they numbered 1,000 with four priests and two churches. This figure had exactly quadrupled by the beginning of the twentieth century. In Norway, the first Mass since the Reformation was celebrated in 1843. Norway became an independent prefecture apostolic in 1855 and a vicariate in 1892. It also allowed religious Orders to settle in its territory. At the beginning of the present century, the Catholics numbered 2,000.

In 1855, Propaganda incorporated in one prefecture, known as that of the North Pole, Lapland, the Faroes, Iceland, Greenland, the far North of the American continent, then the Orkneys and Shetlands. In 1866, this prefecture had only seven stations, of which the most active was that of the Faroes. In all there were 250 Catholics. It was suppressed in 1869.

Catholics were a little more numerous in the vicariate of North Germany which was attached to the see of Osnabrück, and in the prefecture of Schleswig-Holstein. But they were scattered and divided in a number of parishes that was minute by comparison with the dimensions of the territory.

The prefecture of Denmark, established in 1868 and in which the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland were incorporated after the suppression of the prefecture of the North Pole, became a vicariate in 1892. The Sisters of St Joseph had made a foundation there in 1856. The progress of Catholicism was less slow than in Sweden and Norway. In 1892, there were 19,750 Catholics and twenty-nine parishes.

Catholicism was reintroduced into Finland, at Viborg, in

1721 by Polish soldiers serving in the Russian army. In 1781, it was authorized in the Swedish-speaking area. Missionaries from Germany arrived in Helsinki in 1860 but returned home discouraged. The Fathers of St Quentin came in 1906 after the abolition of the laws against toleration, but they could not stay more than two years. They returned again in 1917 and had the assistance of some Dominicans. Together they succeeded in making a few converts.

In Iceland, where Catholicism had disappeared at the Reformation, a French priest, Abbé Baudoin, founded at Reykjavik and Grundavjorden, two mission stations which for a long time had as their only parishioners the Breton fishermen. However, one native family was converted, but the departure of Abbé Baudoin left them without anyone to minister to them (1876).

In 1892, the vicariate apostolic of Denmark to which Iceland had been attached, sent a priest to Reykjavik and he established a parish there. In the following year, the Sisters of St Joseph of Chambéry arrived and soon founded a school and a hospital. Yet in 1897 there were only thirty-seven Catholics and ninety-two in 1902. In 1903 the de Montfort Fathers were given the responsibility of evangelizing Iceland and their efforts succeeded in establishing a few Christian families on this stony soil.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was no territory in which the Sacred Congregation had not attempted to establish missions. The latter, it is true, did not always have the supranational character she wished to stamp upon them. They did not always give the native clergy the place which it should hold in the new Christian communities as time goes on. It was to reform them in these two particulars that the Holy See applied itself during and after the pontificate of Benedict XV. The purpose of the sequel to this book is to describe the precise circumstances in which these reforms were undertaken.

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(continued from front flap)

of the indigenous population and the unchristian motives of the European invaders. That they succeeded at all was a miracle. The later part of the book is concerned with the efforts in Africa and the Far East, and the incredible obstacles of tremendous distances and, in Africa, the almost unlivable environment.

Any book on this subject could not fail to be exciting; this book has the added grace of being well written.

Bernard de Vaulx, who was born in France, is principally a historian, though he has written a few novels. He is the author of *Monsieur de Sougy avant le Phylloxéra* (1935), *Joseph de Maistre* (1940), *Journal de François Suleau* (1946), *Charlotte, Femme Souple* (1947), *Deux Figures du Tiers Ordre* (1948), *L'échéance de 1852 ou la Liquidation de 1848* (1948), *Histoire des Missions Catholiques Françaises* (1951), *Les Plus Beaux Texts sur les Missions* (1954), *Madame Tiquet Criminelle Repentie* (1955), *Les Églises de Couleur* (1957), and *En Afrique* (1960).

Reginald F. Trevett translated *History of the Missions* from the French.

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